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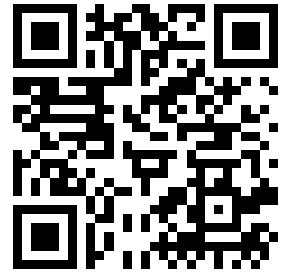

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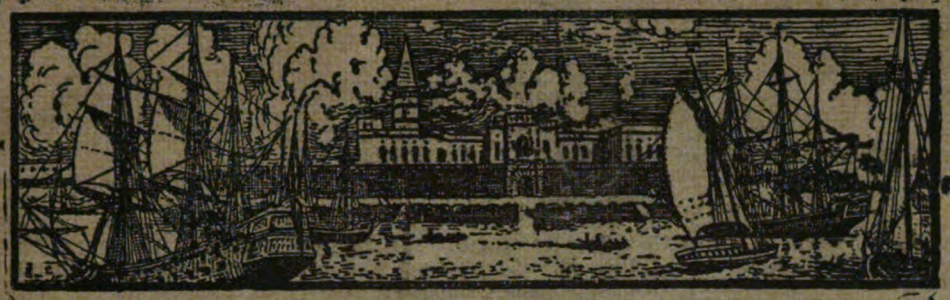

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PAST & PRESENT

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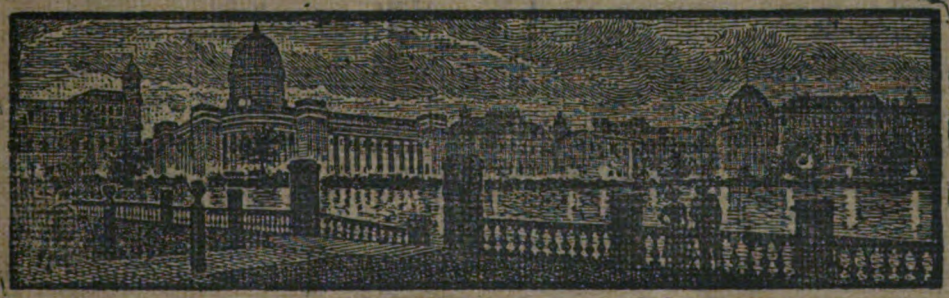

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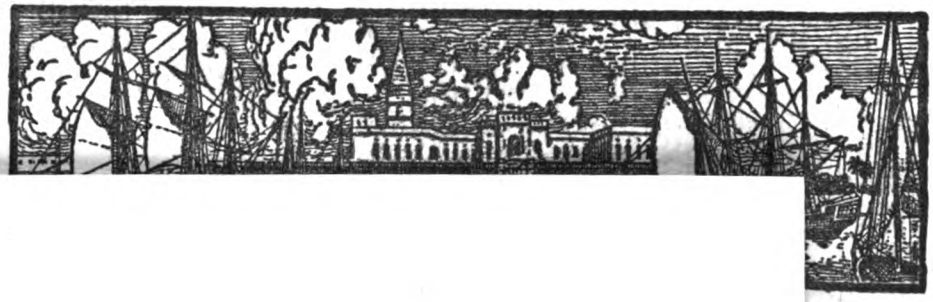

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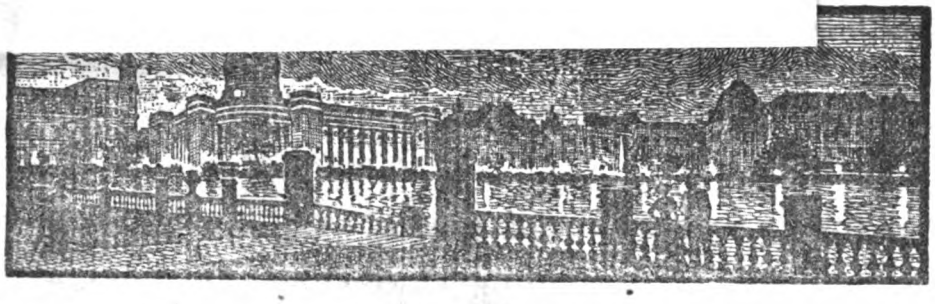

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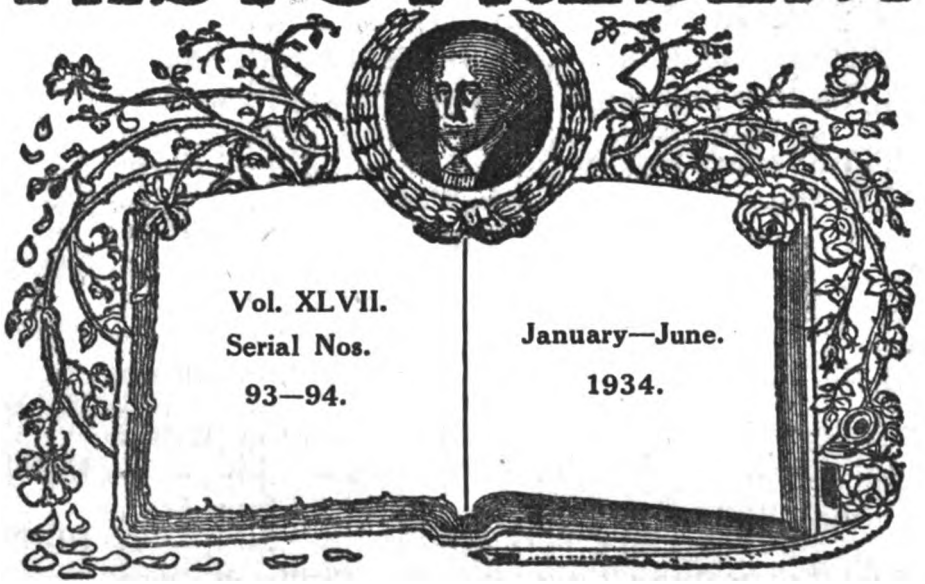

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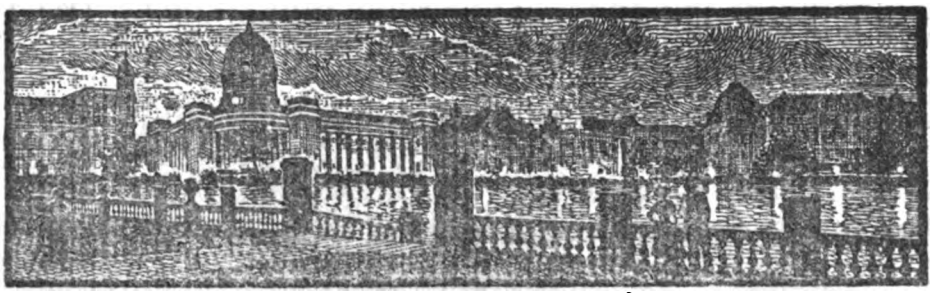

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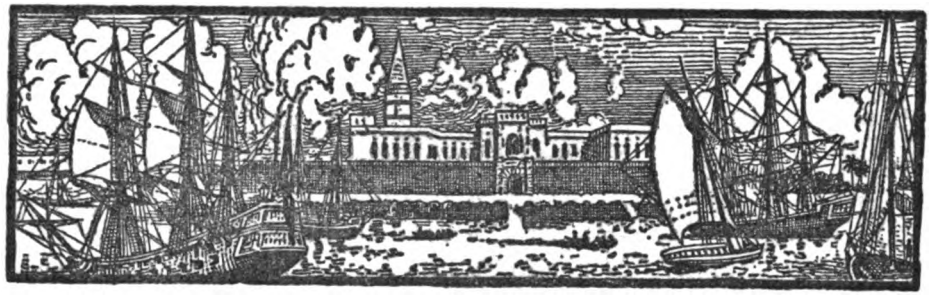

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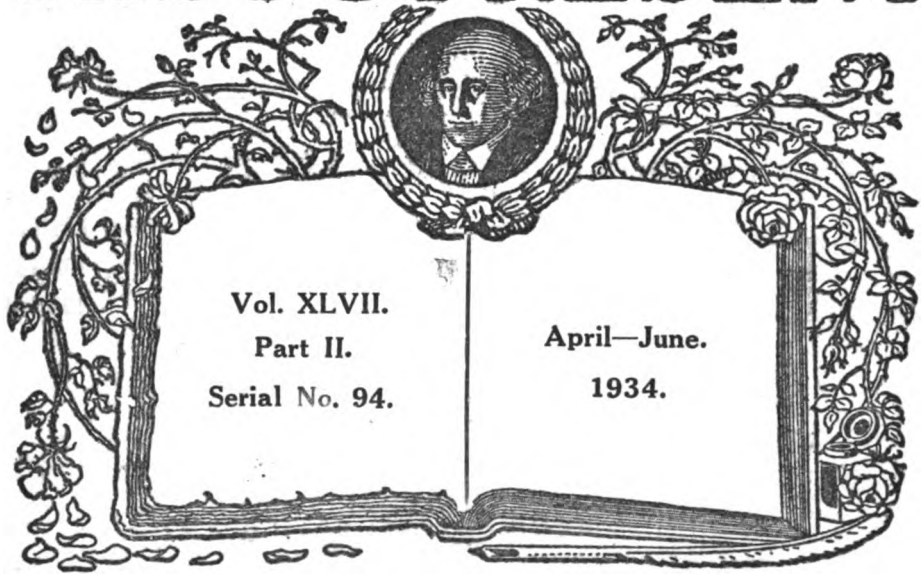

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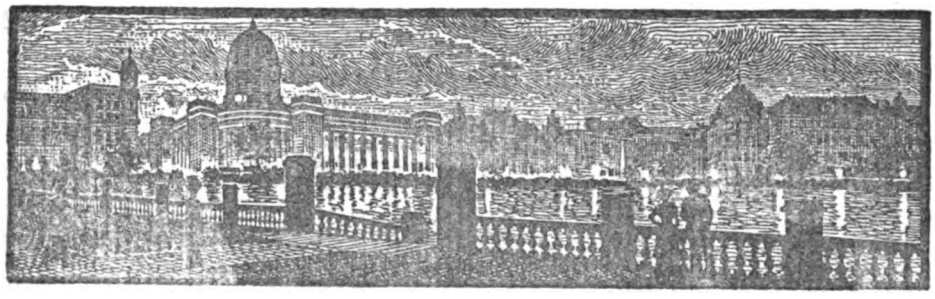

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RUNJEET SINGH

THE FOUNDER OF THE PUNJAUB EMPIRE

From a Drawing by an Indian Artist

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A Frenchman's View of India, 1829-32.

VICTOR JACQUEMONT came to India in May, 1829, as Travelling Naturalist to the Royal Museum of Natural History in Paris and spent three and a half years in the country, pursuing scientific researches, mainly in Northern India and Kashmir. He died from abscess of the liver at Bombay on December 7, 1832, at the early age of thirty-one, and was buried with military honours as a Knight of the Legion of Honour. His remains were exhumed in 1881 and conveyed to France in a French man-of-war with a wreath on the coffin made of the flowers of a plant which he had introduced from Kashmir and which was named Jacquemontia after him.

Accounts of his travels as given in his letters and journal were published in *Correspondance pendant son voyage dans l'Inde*, 1834, and *Voyage dans l'Inde*, 1835. An English translation of his letters was published in 1835 under the title "Letters from India: describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore, and Cashmeer during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, undertaken by order of the French Government by Victor Jacquemont". Extracts from his diary have also been published in *Etat Politique et Social de l'Inde du Nord en* 1830.

During his travels Jacquemont had singular opportunities of seeing the country both under British and Indian rule. He made good use of them, and he also made opportunities for himself. For example, when staying with Lord William Bentinck at Barrackpore, he got himself invited to the quarters of some young officers of the Company's army in order to see how they lived, and when travelling up country, he made a long detour to Raniganj to see a coal mine—"the only coal-mine that has been worked in India"—and spent thirteen hours up to his knees in mud and cold water, 100 feet underground, with a geological hammer, compass, etc. He was on intimate terms with Lord and Lady William Bentinck, who treated him as a friend of the family. He was received in audience by the titular Emperor, Akbar Shah (son of Shah Alum and father of Bahadur Shah, the last King of Delhi), who from 1806 to 1837 lived in semi-regal state in the palace at Delhi, kept up the ceremonial of the Moghul court and retained the privilege of bestowing titles. He had interviews with two ex-Kings of Kabul, Zaman Shah and Shah Shuja, who lived as pensioners of the Company at Ludhiana, which was then a frontier post. Brothers by birth, the former had been driven out of Afghanistan in 1800 by another brother, Mahmud, who was blinded; the latter ruled from 1804 to 1809 and was again to have a brief uneasy tenure of the throne from 1839 to 1842, his restoration being the cause of the first Afghan war.

Jacquemont was also a friend of Allard, an old Napoleonic soldier, who was commander-in-chief of Ranjit Singh's army, and he was in close touch

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with Ranjit Singh himself. Ranjit Singh actually offered to make him Governor of Kashmir, an offer which Jacquemont laughingly declined, as he thought it was not made seriously, but only in order to test his character. According to his own account, his refusal of the offer enhanced his reputation, for Ranjit Singh considered him "an animal quite *sui generis*, which could not be too highly honoured," and wrote to him every week. He was not the only Indian ruler who corresponded with Jacquemont, who declared that his portfolio was filled with letters from Kings.

He was also *persona grata* with the English officials, who received him with "a *crescendo* of flattering attentions and noble hospitality". He got every one to talk upon the subject he knew best; Judges on the moral condition of the people and Collectors on the revenue system, land tenures and the natural products of the country. His method in dealing with Indians is best described in his own words. "I seek to penetrate into their existence, their feelings, their notions. I am impregnating myself with India instead of dipping the tip of my finger into it as many English do who pretend to study this country". Actually his knowledge of Indian life and customs was neither extensive nor deep, but otherwise the information he acquired, added to natural shrewdness and a lively sense of humour, have produced a well-informed and entertaining commentary on men and affairs.

Jacquemont left Brest on August 26, 1828, on a French man-of-war, the *Zélée*, a good sea-boat but a slow sailer. She put in at Teneriffe, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of Bourbon and Pondicherry, and finally cast anchor off Calcutta on May 5, 1829—a voyage of over eight months. Of the ten naval officers attached to the ship not one could talk English, and Jacquemont was twice called upon to act as interpreter in speaking to passing vessels, harmless merchantmen, of which the captain of the *Zélée* was suspicious. He had the ship cleared for action on each occasion and gave one a broadside of round shot and grape. Jacquemont again had to act as interpreter between the ship's officers and the pilot coming up the Hooghly, at the mouth of which the *Zélée* was in some danger. She touched some sandbanks and lost all her anchors, and her position was precarious as she had already lost all her boats in a hurricane at the Isle of Bourbon. But, he says, "we moored at last before what they call the City of Palaces but which is nothing more than a city of large houses."

On landing Jacquemont took a *palki*, and saying to the bearers *Pearson Sahib ka ghar men* (a sentence he had been composing ever since he left Pondicherry) soon found himself at the house of John Pearson, the Advocate-General, to whom he had a letter of introduction.(1) With this and other letters of introduction he was quickly launched in Calcutta society. On the day of his arrival, after making the acquaintance of the Pearson family, he had lunch and dinner at Government House. The dinner was enlivened by the strains of a German orchestra, which played with rare perfection several of the finest

(1) John Pearson was enrolled as an advocate of the supreme court on August 2, 1824, and held the office of Advocate-General (in succession to the famous "Bobus" Smith) from 1824 to 1840. His house was next to the Town Hall.

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symphonies of Mozart and Rossini. For Lord William Bentinck Jacquemont had a great admiration. His experiences as a soldier had given him a holy horror of war. "In spite of wielding the powers of the Great Mogul he acted like a Pennsylvanian Quaker. Though he had been tried by the most corrupting of professions, that of a diplomatist, he had the upright mind and the simple and sincere language of a Franklin." In short he was "an honest man after my own heart." Jacquemont's hero-worship found little response among the Europeans in India, for Lord William Bentinck was unpopular because of his economy campaign, which involved reductions of pay and allowances, in particular the *batta* of the army officers.

Two other friends whom Jacquemont made in Calcutta were Sir Charles Grey, the Chief Justice,(2) who was afterwards Governor first of Barbados and then of Jamaica, and Sir Edward Ryan, who was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1827, at the early age of thirty-three, and became Chief Justice in 1833. Sir Charles Grey was a stout man of forty-five, who had the reputation of being the gravest and also the cleverest man in all India. Sir Edward Ryan who, "notwithstanding his judgeship, is a great lover of Science" was at this time only thirty-six years old and had ten children in England.(3)

We hear little of Indian gentlemen with the exception of Ram Mohan Roy, whom Jacquemont used often to meet. Before he came to India Jacquemont knew that Ram Mohan was a learned Orientalist, subtle in logic and irresistible in dialectic. What he only knew after meeting him was that he was the best of men. Ram Mohan surprised Jacquemont by his views on national independence. He said that when he was young, Europe was odious to him because it was the master of his country. The blind patriotism of youth had made him detest the English and everything English ; but since he had come to perceive the benefits of every kind which followed the establishment of their power, he had regarded it as a blessing for India. National independence, he contended, is not an absolute good. The aim and end of society is the happiness of the greatest number ; and when a nation cannot attain this unaided, it is good for it to be guided by the example and even the authority of a nation of more enlightened conquerors. Seeing that man is not naturally self-sufficing but dependent on others, is not this furious love of national independence a chimera?

Of more general interest perhaps is the account which Jacquemont gives of Ranjit Singh. This is based on personal knowledge and first-hand information, for Jacquemont was intimate with Allard and Ventura, two of Ranjit Singh's generals, and also saw a good deal of Ranjit Singh himself. The latter clearly had a high opinion of him and gave him substantial proofs of his regard, so that any unfavourable opinions which he expressed cannot

(2) Sir C. E. Grey was a puisne judge at Madras when he was appointed to Calcutta in 1825 in succession to Sir Christopher Puller : whereupon Sir Francis Macnaghten, the senior of the Calcutta puisne judges who had twice acted as chief justice resigned. Grey died in 1865.

(3) A son who was afterwards Colonel Sir William Cavendish Bentinck Ryan, was born in Calcutta 1833. Sir E. Ryan died in 1874.

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have been the outcome of personal animuss. The salient traits in Ranjit Singh's character appeared to Jacquemont to be guile and subtlety. He owed his sovereignty of the Punjab and Kashmir to his cunning rather than to his undoubted courage. He was "a perfect old fox", "the most suspicious, false and deceitful of Asiatic princes" ; he acknowledged the dictates neither of law nor honour if they clashed with his interests. His conduct towards his European generals was charged with suspicion and distrust, even though he had had ten years experience of their good faith and honesty. Even Allard, his commander-in-chief was half a prisoner. On the other hand Allard had considerable influence over Ranjit Singh, whom he was not afraid to treat with studied coldness, when he had good reason for complaint, and whom could induce to rescind measures of which he disapproved. On the whole Ranjit Singh treated his officers well. On one occasion a Prussian, named Mevius, who was in command of a cavalry regiment, having driven his men to mutiny "by the application of the German process of the whip," was forced to take refuge in Ranjit Singh's tent in order to escape their fury. Ranjit Singh saved his life but dismissed him from his service.

Ranjit Singh was now in the plenitude of his power, but he found it difficult to restrain the turbulence of the Akalis, and he could only exact tribute from the Rajput princes by demonstrations of military force. Thus we find Ventura, who commanded the infantry, marching to Multan with 10,000 men and 30 pieces of cannon to collect dues from distant provinces, and an army of 8,000 or 10,000 men had to be sent every year to make the Raja of Mandi pay his tribute of a lakh of rupees ; Ranjit Singh told Jacquemont that this Raja was the most refractory of his mountain Rajput vassals.

A Sikh by profession, he was a sceptic in reality and paid his devotions impartially at the Golden Temple in Amritsar and at the shrines of several Moslem saints. He was not cruel and never inflicted capital punishment, though he punished heinous criminals by cutting off the nose, ears and one of the hands. For some years past he had taken to hoarding and even burying money, and his avarice exceeded all bounds ; we know from other sources that he left twelve crores of rupees in his treasury. A *malade imaginaire*, he pestered Jacquemont for medicines, but when the latter gave him some harmless drugs, he did not take them but amused himself by dosing his friends and servants. He was passionately fond of horses and in 1831 was carrying on a murderous war against a neighbouring province in order to obtain possession of a horse which he had failed to secure either as a gift or by purchase. It was knowledge of his tastes that prompted the despatch up the Indus of a team of dray horses as a present from the King of England. One of these was on show at his meeting with Lord William Bentinck at Rupur, when he paraded his favourite horses and descanted on their merits. He was insatiable for information and his countless questions made conversation a nightmare. His questions to Jacquemont covered such diverse matters as Europe, India, the British, Bonaparte (whom he thought he resembled), the world in general, hell, paradise, the soul, God and the devil.

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As for his family life, "this man, so distrustful, this Machiavellian sovereign, is a good forbearing kind of husband, and whenever he absented himself for a few months from his capital and harem, continually engaged as he was in distant expeditions, his family multiplied in a most extraordinary manner. All his wives—he has about a dozen—were brought to bed, one after another, all giving him boys, and fine ones too. Ranjit Singh either thought himself, or pretended to think himself, the father of some of these children and has brought up one of them to enjoy great honours. This is Prince Sheer Sing . . . . Runjeet cares no more for his legitimate eldest son than for the equivocal younger one. His principles in politics are "After me comes the deluge." This sounds like a *chronique scandaleuse*, but has a substratum of truth. As is well known, the laxity of morals in Ranjit Singh's court led to sanguinary disputes about the succession to the throne. This sketch of Ranjit Singh is pieced together from many scattered references ; that of the old Begum Sumroo is a clear-cut vignette.

> I breakfasted and dined with this old witch and was even gallant enough to kiss her hand . . . . She must be a hundred years old (4). She is bent double and her face is shrivelled like dried raisins ; she is, in fine, a sort of walking mummy, who still looks after all her affairs herself, listens to two or three secretaries at once, and dictates at the same time to as many others. Only four years ago she had some of her ministers and disgraced courtiers tied to the cannon's mouth and fired off like shot. It is related of her, and the story is true, that about sixty or eighty years ago she ordered that a young female slave of whom she was jealous should be buried alive, and she gave her husband a nautch upon this horrible tomb. She was however as valiant as she was cruel.
>
> Some Italian monks have now gained possession of her mind and inspired her with a tremendous fear of the devil. She has built a beautiful Catholic church at Serdhana, and a few days ago she wrote to the Government to request that at her death a portion of her domains may remain attached to the church to meet the expense of its service. She has addressed the Pope, asking to have a Bishop at Serdhana. However, she is not yet in her dotage. Of the sixteen lacs of rupees which compose her revenue, she every year buries four in her garden.

Jacquemont was quick to notice that people did not come to Calcutta to enjoy life but to make money so as to enjoy life elsewhere. All the men were workers and there were no drones. "There is no such thing as a man of leisure in Calcutta". Immense fortunes were no longer made. The vulgar Nabob of tradition existed only on the stage in the minor theatres in London. Small as the European population was, it had plenty of newspapers and

(4) She died on January 27, 1836. Her adopted son and heir Dyce Sombre, in reporting her death to Pope Gregory XVI, gave her age as 85—presumably solar years.

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journals, such as *John Bull*, the *Hurkaru*, the *East India Gazette*, the *Government Gazette* and the *Literary Gazette*. In spite of the general lack of leisure there were learned societies (or societies calling themselves learned) of every denomination—"craniological, phrenological, horticultural, literary, medical, Wernerian". Jacquemont had a low opinion of these societies, which to his thinking were on a par with those founded in the United States, though he readily admitted that there were some men of real learning, such as Horace Hayman Wilson, that prince of Sanskrit scholars.

There was "a fashion of Sanskrit and literary Orientalism," with which Jacquemont had no sympathy. The way he wrote about Oriental studies recalls the language used by Lord Macaulay in his famous minute on education. Sanskrit "has only served for the manufacture of theology, metaphysics, history intermingled with theology, and other stuff of the same kind—triple nonsense for the makers and consumers." He was very scornful of the exclusion from the Asiatic Society of Bengal of Ram Mohan Roy, the most learned and the most respectable Indian of his day, who had ceased to be an idolater in order to become a philosopher. This he ascribed to *odium theologicum*. Other Indians were members of the Society, but Ram Mohan Roy was not, simply because he was "a unitarian, a deist, a man whose neighbourhood would be a defilement."

According to Jacquemont there were no sinecures in the government of the East India Company. It paid its employee's liberally, but it exacted from them so much work, in a climate where work was an effort, that they had no leisure time. Those who worked hardest began at 9-30 A.M. and left off at 5 or 6 P.M., rose at daybreak to ride or go out for a drive, repeated the same exercise in the evening, dragged out the time spent at dinner, and went to bed because they could not keep awake. It was explained to Jacquemont that they took exercise not for the pleasure of exercise but just as they would take a pleasant-tasting medicine. *La grande affaire de la vie dans l'Inde, ce n'est pas de s'amuser, c'est de vivre.* "In providing themselves with comforts and material pleasures they tell themselves, and some perhaps persuade themselves, that all they do is to observe a proper regimen of health".

Not more than twenty years before, English society in Calcutta was like a large family, of which the members constantly visited each other and joined together in all their pleasures. Tiffin was then the dinner, and what in Jacquemont's day was called the dinner was a supper beginning at 9 P. M. Each family used to have its reception day, when the house was open to all from the evening until 9 P.M. The fashions of London had spoilt all this. Life was modelled on that of the metropolis, and ladies religiously followed its fashions without making the slightest concession to the difference of climate. Fashion papers were subscribed to and eagerly read both in Calcutta and in all the mofussil stations. "Each family, though living whole years in a remote district without any European witness of its existence, ruins itself in millinery and other finery in order to be in the fashion".

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The men not only worked hard but rode hard. In the cool of the evening they mounted their horses and galloped about for an hour without any object that Jacquemont could see. They returned home bathed in perspiration, and to prepare for an easy and comfortable night, sat down to a dinner which lasted a couple of hours, and from which they rose only to go to bed. The most abstemious took sherry, champagne, port and burgundy, but it must not be assumed that they drunk to excess. Jacquemont never once mentions any one becoming intoxicated or even fuddled, and in describing a dinner at Simla, he says that there was no excess but great cheerfulness, though they went on from 7-30 to 11 P.M. So long did they last that when at length the men went ino the drawing-room, they found the ladies had gone to bed and all the lights had been extinguished. "They do all they can to die", Jacquemont observed ironically, but actually their health did not suffer, and he noticed that only one officer in 28 died annually in the Bengal Army, and one in 33½ in that of Madras, which was no great matter".

There was wild, almost insensate, extravagance, a mania for living beyond one's income. There was not a young Cadet, much less a Writer, who did not own his own cabriolet in Calcutta, and the same kind of thing went on all over the country. Nothing was more common than to owe Rs. 10,000 or a lakh, or even two lakhs, of rupees, and the debtors were frequently Captains on Rs. 600 a month or Surgeons on Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,200. Everyone hoped to make a fortune, or retrieve his fortunes, by winning a prize in the Calcutta lotteries, which were held every six months. Six thousand tickets were issued—as many, Jacquemont noticed, as the number of civil and military officers in India—and there was the chance of winning Rs. 1,60,000 for the first or Rs. 80,000 for the second prize. Jacquemont himself bought a ticket and gave it to his friend Allard as a possible means of restoring his fortune, which has been lost as the result of the disastrous Palmer failure.

Simla had been discovered nine or ten years before Jacquemont's arrival in India, and upwards of sixty houses had been built. It was already "the resort of the rich, the idle and the sick." The luxury of Calcutta had established itself there, and incidentally Calcutta papers were delivered daily. It was under the tyrannical sway of fashion ; every one attached absurd importance to the cut of clothes ; and ladies were as well dressed as in Hyde Park.

Jacquemont found a great difference between the English in Bengal and those whom he met in Northern India. The former were not only less cordial but also less intellectual than the latter. The difference, according to him, was proverbial in India. Those whom Jacquemont liked best were the Military Civilians, whom he correctly described as military men detached from their corps and employed in political duties, or more frequently in political, civil, judicial, financial and military all at once. They were "the most interesting people in India," and it was from them that he obtained the best information about the country.

Of the Covenanted Civilians the man who appealed most strongly to him

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was William Fraser of Delhi.(5) He was the greatest authority on the Sikhs, enjoyed a celebrity which extended a hundred leagues round Delhi, and was "the only officer of Government who to my knowledge keeps up any social relations with the natives." He was generally regarded as a misanthrope and recluse, but Jacquemont found him the most sociable person in the world, a man of retiring habits, it was true, but one of great originality of thought and with a perfectly cultivated mind. A warm friendship existed between the two, and Jacquemont wrote that because of the sweet remembrances of this friendship Delhi would ever be one of his dearest recollections of the East. "The only singularity which I can find in him is a complete monomania for strife.(6) When a war breaks out, he forsakes his tribunal and goes to it. He is always the first at a storming party, an amusement in which he got two good sword cuts on his arms, a pike thrust in his loins, and an arrow in his neck, which nearly killed him. At this price he has always been able to extricate himself from the actions into which he has thrust himself without being obliged to kill a single man. The emotion of danger is the most voluptuous kind of emotion to him ; this is the theory of what is called his madness. Of course, with this form of courage, Mr. Fraser is the most pacific of men." "His humanity is such that he has never struck a blow with his sword."

Before coming to India Jacquemont had a prejudice against British rule, but he gradually became convinced of its necessity and value. He had been barely a year in the country before he scoffed at the idea, which was common in France, that it was a characteristic piece of British hypocrisy to pretend that extension of their dominions was due to necessity. Nothing, on the contrary, was more true. The British were by no means desirous of further conquests. The Punjab was a case in point. It was being ruined by the excessive taxation which Ranjit Singh imposed in order to maintain his army. Many persons had crossed the Sutlej and settled in British territory, and several provinces were calling for the British. Jacquemont believed that the British could quite easily conquer the Punjab if they chose, but they had no wish to do so. He thought that some day or other they would be obliged to annex it, but they would only take this step at the last extremity.

He laughed at tales of oppression by the British and declared that he wished that legal order went on as well in Paris as it did from Cape Comorin to the peaks of the Himalayas. British power was firmly established but there were two potential dangers, namely, a partial revolt of the sepoy army and a more general outbreak kindled by religious fanaticism. The strength of the British had, in his view, no other foundatiion than moral strength, "very powerful, it is true, but which caprice might overturn. What event can

(5) William Fraser (1784—1835) entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1799 and was appointed Resident at Delhi in 1830. He was shot dead on March 22, 1835, when riding at Delhi, by Karim Khan, at the instigation of Shams-ud-din, Nawab of Firozpur. Col. James Skinner, who was a close friend of his, erected a marble tomb (of which only the fragments survived the Mutiny) in St. James's Church at Delhi.

(6) He was actually at one time second-in-command of Skinner's Horse and was granted the local rank of Major in November 1817.

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produce this shock? Undoubtedly the reawakening of religious feeling. This may occur tomorrow or it may not happen for a century to come."

"The British Government in India," he wrote, "though it calls for some reforms, deserves nevertheless immense praise. Its government is a great blessing to the provinces under its rule and I have been fully convinced of this ever since I have been travelling in the country where I now am, which has remained independent; that is to say, a place of atrocious violence and constant robbery and murder." These words were written in Kashmir, which was, and long had been, cruelly oppressed. It had been conquered first by the Moghuls, then by the Afghans, and recently by the Sikhs. A general plunder followed each conquest. In the intervals of peace between the conquests anarchy and oppression made labour and industry fruitless. The country was so completely ruined that the Kashmiris seemed apathetic with despair. It was "a wretched and almost desert province"; its poverty exceeded all imaginable poverty. "A few thousand Sikhs, with swords at their sides or pistols in their belts, drive this ingenious and numerous, but timid people before them like a flock of sheep."

Jacquemont wrote little less strongly about the state of the Punjab under Sikh rule. "One must have travelled in the Punjab to know of what immense benefit to humanity the English dominion in India is and from what wretchedness it saves eighty millions of souls . . . I cannot witness the frightful evils of the present system of governing these peoples without ardently desiring to see the British extend their frontiers from the Sutledge to the Indus and the Russians occupy the other bank of that river. It is generally believed that it would be the period of a dreadful conflict between those great powers which would decide the fate of Asia to the west of the Irady (Irrawaddy?); but I think on the contrary that not till then would peace reign throughout those vast regions."

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Calcutta and the London Stage.

SCATTERED amongst the forty-six volumes of *Bengal : Past and Present* may be found occasional notes dealing with certain ladies connected with Calcutta who have, at some period of their existence, graced the London stage. Amongst such may be mentioned Isabella Birchell or Vincent, the original Polly Peachum of Gay's 'Beggar's Opera,' who took for her second husband Captain John Mills of Black Hole fame ; the oddly-named George Anne Bellamy, mother, by John Calcraft the Army Agent, of Lieut.-General Henry Fox Calcraft, for fifteen years the Fort Major of Fort William(1) ; the 'incomparable Mrs. Siddons,' with a son in the Bengal C.S., three grandsons in the Bengal and one in the Madras Army ; and 'Lola Montez,' the divorced wife of Lt.-Col. Thomas James of the Bengal N.I. though Betty James, for all her beauty, can scarcely be described as an ornament to the stage if report speaks true. It is proposed now to give a few more examples, some of which are probably less well-known than the foregoing, though undoubtedly worthy of rescue from oblivion.

I. First place must surely be accorded to Major John Scott-Waring who demonstrated his partiality for the stage by selecting both his second and third wives from the ranks of the profession. The former, whom he married shortly after the death of his first wife in Oct., 1796, was Maria, daughter and heiress of Jacob Hughes of Cashel. Little appears to be known about her beyond the fact that, though possessed of some fortune, she had been on the stage, chiefly in Ireland.(2) After skipping a generation, the lure of the footlights manifested itself again in the person of Harriet, daughter of John Thurloe Scott-Waring(3), Maria's only son. She married, as his second wife, an actor-manager at Newcastle-on-Tyne named Haddy, son of a Dissenting minister. Eight months after the death in tragic circumstances of his second wife, Major Scott-Waring married (15 Oct., 1812) Harriet Pye Esten, a match which occasioned Sheridan's oft-quoted epigram of questionable taste. Although the stage career of this once popular actress has been fully investigated, the facts of her origin and private life are not so clearly defined. According to the generally accepted account she was the daughter of one

(1) There is a most amusing reference in Lady Nugent's Journal (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 67) and another in George Elers' Memoirs (See *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 119) to Calcraft's gastronomical fare. "Colonel Calcraft's dinners," says Elers, "were truly recherché. I never ate anything in India so good as the various delicacies of his table."

(2) *Notes & Queries*, 10S. iv. 190, 296 (2 Sept. and 7 Oct. 1905).

(3) Ensign 28th (N. Gloucs.) Regt. of Foot 17 Sept. 1812; Lieut. 2nd Bn. do. 31 Mar. 1814. The 2nd Bn. was disbanded the same year, when he went on half pay, and he was consequently not present at Waterloo with the 28th Foot, as has sometimes been stated in print. He remained on the h.p. of a Lieut. of the 8th Foot from 15 Aug. 1816 till after 1824.

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Bennet, a tanner in Tooting ; but another version(4) describes her as a natural daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Pye and Agnes Maria Bennett, the novelist (D.N.B.), authoress of 'Juvenile Indiscretions,' etc. Harriet survived the Major for nearly forty-six years, dying in April 1865 at the reputed age of 100 years.

II. How many citizens, we wonder, of modern Calcutta are aware of the fact that somewhere in their midst lies buried a young nephew of the celebrated Peg Woffington? The Hon. and Rev. Robert Cholmondeley, rector of St. Andrew's Hertford, married Mary, daughter of Arthur Woffington, a Dublin bricklayer, and sister of Margaret the actress. Their younger son, Robert Francis Cholmondeley (bapt. 23 Oct., 1755), was appointed a Writer for Bengal in 1772, and died at Calcutta 4 June, 1776(5), 'carried off by a billious fever' says William Hickey.(6) The Cholmondeleys were friends of the Hickey family, and it is tantalizing to read the editor's note(7) to the effect that, 'the portion of the MS. in which the name of Mrs. Cholmondeley had been mentioned was eliminated.' It is to be hoped that the jealous feud which existed between Peg Woffington and Mrs. Bellamy was not carried on in Calcutta by Cholmondeley and Calcraft—if they ever met.

III. Another Bengal Civilian who may be said to have been born and bred in the glare of the footlights was Charles Fleetwood, of whom an account will be found in Holzman's 'The Nabobs in England.' A son of the proprietor of Drury Lane Theatre in 1733, he himself acted there for two seasons in 1758 and 1759, receiving, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 'a considerable share of applause.' Dr. Holzman states that he arrived in Bengal as a Factor in 1770, and was at Burdwan in 1773-4 ; but a letter from a Mr. Charles Fleetwood at Calcutta is recorded in *Public Proceedings* of 10 Nov. 1763. On 4 Feb. 1775 (O.C. 6 Mar., No. 16), he wrote requesting permission to go to Europe on the *Anson* for the recovery of his health. Shortly, it would appear, after his return home he married a daughter of a Mr. Simpson of Aberdeen, an infant pupil of Garrick who brought her out in the character of Violante in 'The Wonder! A Woman keeps a Secret' at the age of fourteen. Fleetwood's subsequent career is obscure, and the following account in *Gent. Mag.* (1807, i. 184) does not help to any great extent towards elucidating the facts:

> She [Miss Simpson] continued but a short time in the profession, when she was married to Charles Fleetwood, son of the old patentee of that name of Drury Lane, who died shortly afterwards at Bengal, where on his arrival he was informed of the death of his wife's brother, Capt. John Simpson in the Army.

(4) See an article in *N. & Q.* 12S. iii. 61-3 (27 Jan. 1917). The writer, the late Mr. Horace Bleackley—so well known for his researches into Georgian scandals and enigmas, and above all for his scholarly 'Life of John Wilkes'—gives as his authority for this statement " 'Secret History of the Green Room,' 1793, ii. 1-14; *cf.* Town and Country Magazine, xii. 177."

(5) *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XXXI, p. 137; *Annual Register*, 1777, p. 228.

(6) *Memoirs*, i. 283.

(7) *Ibid.*, iv. 486.

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After Fleetwood's death—the date of which is not known—his widow returned to the stage, and on her demise at Belfast on 22 Jan. 1807, she had been for sixteen years wife of a Mr. White of the Belfast theatre. Fleetwood's Writer's Petition is not in the India Office.

IV. Yet another Bengal Civilian with a stage connexion was Henry Meredith Parker, who has a notice in Buckland's *Dict. of Indian Biog.* Born 4 June 1795, the son of William Parker by his wife, 'a celebrated *danseuse* at Covent Garden'(8), he himself is stated in Stocqueler's 'Memoirs of a Journalist' (Bombay, 1873) to have played the violin in the Covent Garden orchestra as a youth. His subsequent long and successful association with the Calcutta theatre is a matter of common knowledge. He died 17 Sept. 1863, not 1868 as misprinted in the *D.I.B.*

V. Reverting again to the Army, mention may be made of a link with the great David Garrick in the person of Colonel James Tetley, name-father of the old 38th Regt. of Native Light Infantry (Bengal Volunteers), or '*Balunteer, Titteelee-ki-Paltan,*' which mutinied at Delhi 11 May, 1857. Tetley's sister Elizabeth married, as his second wife, George Garrick, the youngest brother of the actor; whilst the marriage at Calcutta on 4 Mar. 1773(9), of his sister Alice to Henry Wedderburn, the Master Attendant, discloses another interesting connexion with Bengal. Tetley, who died unmarried at Allahabad 11 Nov. 1820, was employed by the Board of Trade in Calcutta (presumably as an Uncovenanted Civilian or Monthly Writer) before receiving his commission in 1778. His son, by Chaund Bibi, served as a Local Lieutenant in the picturesque Dromedary Corps from Jan. 1817 till its disbandment in Oct. 1821, but disappears from our ken after the latter date.

VI. In the old cemetery below Chunar Fort is a grave with an inscription to Capt. C. Redish [*sic*] who died 8 June 1810.(10) This commemorates Capt. Charles Reddish, of the Invalid Est., formerly of the 22nd B.N.I. Baptized at St. Paul's Covent Garden, 3 Jan. 1779, he was the youngest (twin) son of Samuel Reddish the actor (D.N.B.), by Mary Anne his second wife, the *trag'edienne,* daughter of Jordan Costello, of an old Irish family, by a daughter of Col. Melchior Guydickens.(11) Additional interest accrues to Capt. Reddish by reason of the fact that he was a half-brother of the Rt. Hon. George Canning, Prime Minister of England in 1827, who was so closely associated with India over a long period. Charles Reddish's daughter, Mary Ann, is said to have married a wealthy indigo planter and died in India.

VII. Lieut. Anthony Angelo Malevolti Tremamondo (1747-1829), our next subject, has figured more than once in these pages; but no mention, we believe, has hitherto been made of his wife by whom he was the progenitor of three successive generations of the Angelo family to serve in Bengal. He married in London on 27 July 1787, Elizabeth Martha, daughter of Edward

(8) See an article in the *Pioneer* of 12 May 1918.

(9) *Bengal: Past & Present,* IV. 499.

(10) *Blunt,* p. 184.

(11) *N. & Q.* Vol. clvii (1929), pp. 183-5, 201-4, 249. The Guydickens family came from Worcestershire. They were not, as might be supposed, of foreign extraction.

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Bland, of a prominent theatrical family, and probably herself an actress under the name of Miss Francis.(12) In any case, her father was a first cousin of Dorothea Bland, better known as Mrs. Jordan (D.N.B.). The latter's eldest son, George Augustus Frederick Fitz Clarence, afterwards 1st Earl of Munster, served in India from 1815 to 1817 with the 24th Light Dragons. Another son, Lieut.-Gen. Lord Frederick Fitz Clarence, was Commander-in-Chief at Bombay from Nov. 1852 till his death two years later. He is buried at Purandhar near Poona.

VIII. Captain William Keasberry, of the Bengal Infantry, who died at Chittagong 15 Apr. 1797(13), was the eldest of three sons of William Keasberry, manager and proprietor of the Bath theatre. His mother, Henrietta Keasberry, was a Bath actress, and one brother also took to the stage. The third and youngest son, John Palmer Keasberry (1773—1814), was a Madras Cadet of 1790, who, at his death in Java on 29 Apr. 1814, was Lt.-Col. comdg. 21st M.N.I.

IX. Another "Mull" connected with the Bath stage was Lt.-Col. Thomas William Wigan (1782—1856), 36th M.N.I. He married at Bristol in Jan. 1816, 'Miss Skeene, late of the Bath theatre.'

X. For our next two examples we must cross India to the Bombay Presidency. Major George Frederick Penley, 16th Bombay N.I., was invalided in Jan. 1839, retired eleven months later, was promoted Hon. Lt.-Col. in Nov. 1854, and died 1868/9. He was a son of William Penley, comedian at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane—the name is suggestive, but a connexion with W. S. Penley (1851—1912) of 'Charley's Aunt' fame has not been proved —and was born at Sevenoaks 19 May 1795. After receiving his education at the King's School, Sherborne, he was recommended for a Cadetship by Queen Charlotte—a fact which affords yet another proof of the patronage which the ruling house of England has always been ready to extend to the drama.

XI. With Lieut. Robert Henry Harris Fawcett, also of the Bombay Army (18th N.I.), we bring this short list to a close. He was born in London 31st July 1805, and was dismissed in India in Feb. 1826. His parents were John Fawcett, actor, dramatist and manager of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (D.N.B.), and Anne Gaudry his second wife, sometimes an actress and later wardrobe-keeper at Covent Garden.

Other, more modern, instances of similar bonds between the stage at home and India—including one of very recent date—can doubtless be recalled to mind; but it were perhaps wiser to limit these notes to the period of John Company's rule.

V. C. P. HODSON.

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(12) *The Ancestor*, Vol. VIII (1904), pp. 50-2.

(13) He was born c. 1760, but owing to the registers of the R. C. chapel at Bath having been burnt by rioters on 9 June 1780, the exact date of his birth is not known.

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A Chapter in the early Constitutional History of India under British Rule.

II

IN the first part of this article published in the January—March (1934) number of 'Bengal: Past and Present,' I have described the Instructions which the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies', issued, on the 29th of March, 1774, to the Governor-General and Council of Bengal with regard to General Administration, Judiciary, Commerce, Salaries, Contracts, and "Oppressions" and "Abuses" on the part of the Company's servants in Bengal. In this concluding part of the article I propose to describe the Instructions of the Court in regard to Military Affairs, the Debts of the Company and the principles on which the Lands and Farms of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were to be leased.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

As disputes had occurred in India between the civil and the military authorities, on account of the powers claimed by the Governor of Bengal and the Company's military Commander-in-Chief under their respective Commissions, and as they had caused a great injury to the Company's service, the Court thought it proper, in order to prevent the recurrence of such disputes in future, to grant a Commission (1) to the Governor-General of Bengal, constituting him Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Fortress and Garrison of Fort William and the Town of Calcutta. It also granted a Commission (2) to Lieutenant-General John Clavering, constituting him Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's Forces in India. Further, it directed that the particular powers vested in the Governor-General and the military Commander-in-Chief under the authority of the Commissions granted to them, should be exercised in the manner and to the extent as stated below.

All 'Military Honours' which had formerly been paid to any of the Presidents and Governors of Fort William, except such as were reserved for the King only, were to be continued to the Governor-General. The Governor-General's Guard was required to attend him whenever he should find it necessary to be away from Fort William, and was to be entirely under

(1) For a copy of the Commission, see App. A later.
(2) For a copy of the Commission, see App. B later.

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his command during such absence from the Presidency. All orders within the Garrison of Fort William and the Town of Calcutta, with the exception of those which would relate to regimental detail and to military discipline, or to the defence of the Fort, were to be issued in the name of the Governor-General who was also required "to keep the Keys of the Fort, and give the parole" ; but orders regarding regimental detail and the discipline of the army in general, including the Garrison of Fort William and the troops stationed in the Town of Calcutta, were to be given in the name of the military Commander-in-Chief or, in his absence, in the name of the superior military officer on duty at Fort William for the time being, who was directed however to communicate all such orders to the Governor-General for approval before issuing them to the troops in the said Garrison, or in the Town of Calcutta.

In case Fort William or the Town of Calcutta was at any time attacked or invested by an enemy, the Keys of the Fort were directed to be delivered to the military Commander-in-Chief and the separate military authority of the Governor-General was to be entirely suspended till the enemy was repelled, but no longer. If, however, there would arise in either case a difference of opinion between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief as to the exact time when the exercise of the Governor-General's powers should be suspended or resumed, the decision of the Governor-General and Council thereon would be final. During the suspension of the Governor-General's separate authority, "the executive military power" would, subject, however, at all times to the ultimate control of the Governor-General and Council, devolve upon and be entirely vested in the military Commander-in-Chief or, in his absence, in the superior military officer in the Garrison.

Temporary leave of absence in times of peace was to be granted by the Governor-General to officers doing duty in the Garrison of Fort William or the Town of Calcutta, and by the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to all other officers. Such leave of absence, however, was in no case to 'extend beyond the limits of the said provinces.' Leave to resign the Company's service or for officers to go to any other settlement in India or to England for the recovery of health was to be granted by the Governor-General and Council only.

The Governor-General alone was empowered to nominate the Town or Fort Major. The Commander-in-Chief was directed to recommend to the Governor-General and Council all officers for the staff and those who were to be appointed to fill the vacancies in the Sepoy Corps ; and the Governor-General and Council were required to pay a due regard to the recommendations of the Commander-in-Chief.

In regard to the granting of Commissions in the army, the Court expressly enjoined that no Commission should be granted by the Governor-General and Council to any Field Officer (3), but that in case of a vacancy, the officer next in rank should fill it provisionally, till its pleasure was made known. All Commissions below the rank of Field Officers, however, were

(3) Field Officer—'Above captain and below general.'

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to be granted by the Governor-General and Council in Bengal and by the President and Council at any other settlement. Every resolution of the Governor-General and Council respecting the promotion or dismissal of military officers, was to be communicated to the Commander-in-Chief in writing, and was to be issued by the Governor-General in the Garrison of Fort William and the Town of Calcutta, and to the rest of the army by the military Commander-in-Chief for the time being. All plans or regulations framed by the Commander-in-Chief in times of peace, regarding 'the disposition, cantonment, or distribution' of the Company's troops in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, must be approved by the Governor-General and Council before any effect could be given to them.

The Court also directed that if the Governor-General and Council should at any time think proper to issue orders to any officer in the army, suspending or superseding any specific commands of the Governor-General or the military Commander-in-Chief, such orders must be implicitly obeyed.

The Keys of all the Subordinate Factories belonging to Fort William in Bengal, were to be kept by such persons as the Governor-General and Council would appoint; but in all Barracks or Cantonments the Keys were to be kept by the commanding officer of the troops stationed therein. If, however, any subordinate factory in Bengal, Bihar or Orissa were attacked, the Keys thereof were to be delivered 'to the (local) Commander-in-Chief (4) or, in his absence, to the supreme military officer present at such Factory,' the mode of defence being left entirely to his judgment and the whole executive military power being vested in him. This arrangement was to remain in force till the enemy was repelled, 'subjct, however, at all times to the control of the Governor-General and Council, or of the military Commander-in-Chief.'

The Governor-General and Council were directed to order expressly the Commander-in-Chief or the Superior Military Officer in every district to comply with such requisitions for troops as would be made by the Company's chief civil servants, in all cases where military assistance might be necessary. In every such requisition the chief civil servant concerned must explain to the Military Officer in writing, in so far as this might be possible, the nature of the service to be performed; but the mode of executing it, and the number of troops and the quantity of stores required for that purpose, were to be determined by the Chief and Council in all subordinate factories where there would be a Chief and Council, and elsewhere by the Military Officer in whom 'the executive military power' would be vested.

All inferior commandants in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were required to send monthly Returns of all the Company's troops in those provinces to the Governor-General and Council, and to transmit to the military Commander-in-Chief the 'immediate advice of all military occurrences.' The Commander-in-Chief was also directed to send Returns, signed by himself, of all the

(4) The expression obviously means the local commanding officer as distinguished from the military Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India.

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Forces under the Presidency of Bengal, to the Governor-General and Council. If, however, he was ever employed on service at any other Presidency, he was required to deliver Returns of the troops of that Presidency to the President and Council thereof. Copies of all Returns of troops made to the Governors of the Company's different settlements, attested by the relevant superior Military Officers, were directed to be transmitted regularly by the said Military Officers to its Commander-in-Chief in India as well during his residence in Bengal as in any other Presidency.

The military Commander-in-Chief was forbidden by the Court to leave Bengal without the written permission of the Governor-General and Council, who were also empowered to recall the former whenever they would think it necessary during his absence from Bengal. If the Commander-in-Chief happened to be away from Bengal and on duty at any other Presidency, he was to have a seat there as "Second of Council", but a vote there only when military or political questions would be under the consideration of the Council.

In regard to the other Presidencies, the Court determined that 'Commissions similar to that of the Governor-General of Bengal' should be granted to the Governors of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Fort Marlborough, constituting them Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the Castles, Forts and Towers, respectively,' in which they had their usual residence ; that the powers vested in the said Governors by such Commissions should be exercised in the same manner and to the same extent in relation to the Company's Commanders-in-Chief of the respective settlements as was directed to be exercised by the Governor-General of Bengal in relation to the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's troops in India ; and that whenever the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's troops in India would be at Fort St. George, Bombay, Fort Marlborough, or at any of their subordinate factories, he should be subject to the control of the Governor and Council of the particular Presidency, in all cases in which he was directed to be subject to the regulation and control of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William in Bengal.

It will thus be clear from what has been stated above that one of the underlying principles of the Court's Instructions was the principle of the subordination of the military to the civil authorities in India.

In regard to the residence and the emoluments of the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India, the Court directed that he should be permitted, when in Bengal, to enjoy the house in Calcutta, usually assigned to and occupied by the superior Military Officer of the Company's troops in the province ; that, when he would be sent on duty to any other Presidency, a house, suitable to his rank, should be likewise assigned to him for his use during his stay in the Presidency ; and that he should be paid "the sum of six thousand pounds sterling per annum, in full for his services as Commander-in-Chief, and in lieu of travelling charges, and of all other advantages and emoluments whatever, except his salary of ten thousand

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pounds per annum established by law, and ordered to be paid to him as one of the Council of Fort William in Bengal." (5)

The Court also referred, in the course of its Instructions to the Governor-General and Council, to the question of the military expenditure of the Company in Bengal as such expenditure had increased, according to it, to a degree 'insupportable to' the Company. It, therefore, in a special manner enjoined upon the Governor-General and Council to make a strict inquiry "into the causes of such increase, and particularly into the number of Lascars, Draught Bullocks, and Boats kept for the use of the Army ; into contracts for supplying the troops with Provisions, and into all contingent charges." Further, it required them to 'retrench forthwith every superfluous charge, and reduce every incidental expense to the lowest sum possible' Moreover, it expressly limited "the charges of erecting, repairing, or completing Fortifications, Barracks, and all other Public Buildings in Bengal and Its Dependencies, to the annual sum of one Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling", and directed the Governor-General and Council to see that the limit was not exceeded on any account or pretence whatsoever.

Finally, the Court directed that a copy of the Company's Commission to Warren Hastings, Esqr., and of that to Lieutenant General John Clavering, and also a copy of its Instructions in regard to military affairs, should "be forthwith given in general orders at "Fort William," and that they should be publicly read, once a year at least, "at the Head of all Bodies and Detachments of Troops serving under" the Governor-General and Council at Fort William and its subordinate Factories and Dependencies.

PUBLIC DEBTS.

As the reduction of the Company's debts in Bengal and elsewhere was considered to be of the utmost consequence to its prosperity, the Court recommended to the Governor-General and Council that every attention should be paid by them to this object, consistently with the safety and protection of the Company's possessions, and with the requisitions that might be made to them for investments.

LANDS AND FARMS.

In regard to the question of the lands and farms in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Court first of all stated that the principles on which they had previously been leased by the Governor and Council of Bengal had had their approval, and then directed that in case any lands or farms should happen to fall to the Company before the expiration of the time for which they had been leased, the Governor-General and Council should 'advertise for proposals', and proceed to relet them in the same manner as before to the highest bidders who might be able to give a good security for the

(5) It may be interesting to note here that the salary of the Commander-in-Chief of India today is Rs. 100,000/- a year only.

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fulfilment of their engagements. It further directed that 'no forbearance of rent' should be permitted when due ; nor should there be any diminution or abatement of revenue made by the Governor-General and Council, until, upon a full representation made to them of all the circumstances which might 'entitle any farmer to indulgence,' the collectors of revenue should have obtained their licence for a temporary forbearance or for the absolute remission of any part of the rents or revenues due to the Company ; and that such licence should "specify the reason for every indulgence or remission, the name of the person to whom made, the gross amount of the Farm rented, and the specific sum or sums received for, or in lieu of the whole." Moreover, the Court desired that a regular account should be kept of all sums ultimately remitted to farmers, and that it should be transmitted to it every year under the heading of 'Abatements to Farmers,' along with the general rent-roll of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the year in which such abatements might be made.

Finally, in the collection and management of revenues the Governor-General and Council were required to continue such of the servants of the Company as were or had formerly been employed with reputation in the Revenue Department. In regard to the question of the salaries of the officers employed in the Revenue Department, the Court recommended the strictest economy, and directed that no greater salaries should be paid to them than the importance of their several stations might render necessary. Such salaries were to be deemed, however, as provisional only till they should have received the approval of the Court.

APPENDIX A.

"Company's Commission to Warren Hastings Esqr Governor General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal." (6)

Copy.

"The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

"To Warren Hastings Esqr Governor General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

"We the said United Company reposing especial Trust and Confidence in you Warren Hastings do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be our Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Fort and Garrison of Fort William in Bengal and of the Town of Calcutta and of all the forces which now are or hereafter shall be employed for the service of the said United Company within the said Fort, Garrison and Town and you are to

(6) Home : Public Miscellaneous Letters from Europe, 1774-83, Vol. 24, pp. 35-36, Imperial Record Office, Calcutta.

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the utmost of your skill and power to do and perform all such offices and services as appertain to the post of Governor and Commander-in-Chief as aforesaid and to continue in the Exercise of the same during our pleasure subject nevertheless to all such rules Orders and Instructions as you shall at any time receive in writing from the Court of Directors of the said United Company or under the hands of thirteen or more of them or from the Governor-General and Council of Fort William aforesaid, and we do hereby strictly require, charge, and command all Commission officers, non Commission officers, soldiers and others belonging to our military forces and all the people and Inhabitants employed or residing in our said Fort Garrison and Town to yield you as Governor and Commander-in-Chief as aforesaid due obedience accordingly Given under our Common Seal this 25th day of March in the 14th year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the year of our Lord 1774.

"By order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company

P. MICHELL *Secry.*"

APPENDIX B.

"Company's Commission to Lieut. Genl. John Clavering as Commander in Chief in the East Indies." (7)

Copy.

"The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

To

Lieutenant General John Clavering.

"We the said United Company reposing especial trust and confidence in you Lieutenant General John Clavering do by these Presents constitute and appoint you to be Commander-in-Chief of all our Military Forces in the East Indies and you are to the utmost of your skill and power to do and perform all such offices and services as appertain to the Post of Commander-in-Chief of all our Military Forces in the East Indies as aforesaid, subject however to all such Rules, Orders and Instructions as you

(7) Home : Public Miscellaneous Letters from Europe 1774-83, Vol. 24, pp. 41-42. I.R.O., Calcutta.

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shall at any time receive from the Court of Directors of the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies in writing or under the hands of thirteen or more of them or from the Governor-General and Council of our Presidency of Fort William in Bengal or from our Presidents and Councils of Fort St. George Bombay or Fort Marlbro' respectively whenever you shall be present at any of those Presidencies or at any of the settlements or places subordinate thereto, according to the Rules and discipline of War, in pursuance of the Trust hereby reposed in you and we do hereby strictly require, charge, and command all Commission officers non Commission officers soldiers and others belonging to our military Forces at the several Places before mentioned to yield you as their Commander-in-Chief during your residence at such Places, as aforesaid due obedience accordingly given under our Common Seal this 25th day of March in the 14th year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the year of our Lord 1774.

"By order of the Court of Directors of
the said United Company

P. MICHELL *Secretary.*"

D. N. BANERJEE,

Dacca University.

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Monumental Inscriptions at Diamond Harbour Cemetery.

THE following inscriptions on European monuments in the cemetry at Diamond Harbour were transcribed in May 1933 by Mr. J. G. Brooker, of Cossipore. They should be read in conjunction with the attached plan which has been prepared by him.

The Diamond Harbour cemetery is omitted altogether from Dr. C. R. Wilson's *List of Monumental Inscriptions in Bengal* (1897), and likewise from the *Bengal Obituary* (1848).

* * * * * * * *

1. Erected/By his Brother officers/in memory of/J. H. HALAHAN Esq./ Staff Surgeon, Queen's Troops/who died on board the/Ship "Euxine"/off Diamand Harbour, Calcutta/on the 4th May, 1859/on his passage to England/on sick leave.
2. No stone or inscription but wooden posts round grave.
3. Sacred/To the memory of/MARY ELIZABETH CLARISSA/KIRBY/ who departed this life/Aug. 14th 1834/aged 1 year and 3 days.
4. Sacred/To the memory of/CATHERINE MARIA DONNITHORNE/who departed this life at Hidgelly Contai/on the 11th day of June 1832/in the sixteenth year of her age/also/to the memory of her sister/PENELOPE DONNITHORNE/who died at Kedgree/on the 15th day of the same month/in the eighth year of her age/and lastly/to the memory of their fond mother/SARA ELIZA DONNITHORNE/the beloved and exemplary wife of/ . . . . (the stone is broken at this point and there is nothing further. There is no gap to indicate the missing portion of the stone has ever been in place on the monument. The broken stone bearing the above inscription appears to have been built into the monument in its present condition).
5. No inscription.
6. Here lie the remains/of/Mr. THOMAS GAY/late Depy. Agent of Diamond Harbour/who departed this life/Dec. 28th 1807/aged 53 years.

7 to 12. No inscriptions on any of these graves.

13. Sacred to the Memory/of/WILLIAM SUTTON/who after a residence of 20 years in India/embarked for Liverpool his native place/and died/at Culpee on board the Brig "London"/the 13th Jany. 1935/aged 52 years/ His remains were landed and intered [sic]/by Capt. Wm. McLean/underneath this spot/.

Text.

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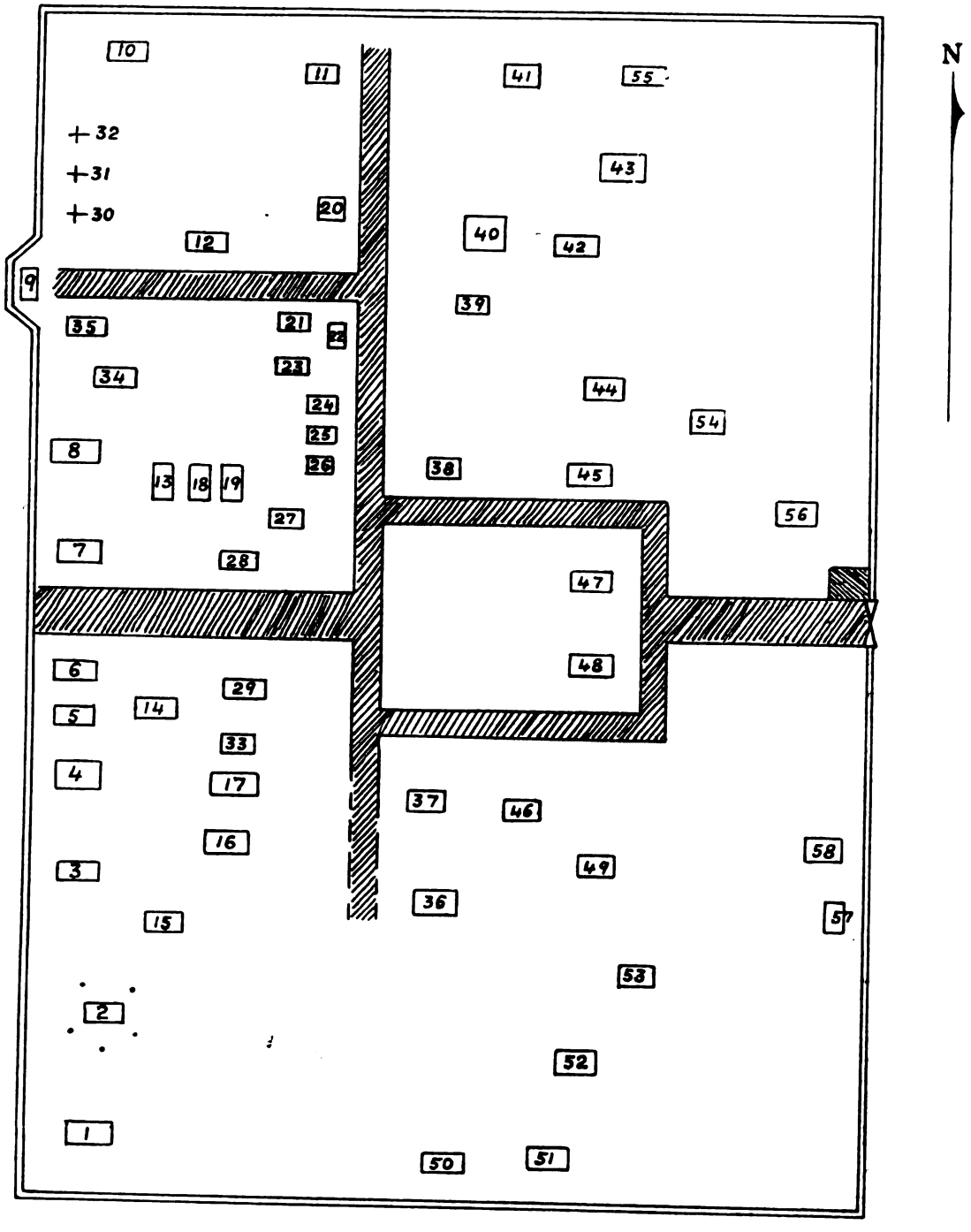
ROUGH PLAN OF DIAMOND HARBOUR CEMETERY

MADE 28TH MAY 1933



NOTE - SHAPE & SIZE OF MONUMENTS IS NOT INDICATED IN PLAN, ONLY THE APPROXIMATE POSITION OF GRAVES IS SHOWN.

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14. In/Sad remembrance/of/EDWARD STAMFORD/HOUGH/died/Nov. 27th/1846/.

15. In/affectionate remembrance/of/MARY ANNE/The beloved wife of/ John W. FINDLAY/.Died at Diamond Harbour/on board the ship "British Duke"/on the 14th June 1878/aged 25 years/.
Text.

16. To the memory of HENRY PRESTON LOVELL/for 35 years, a faithful servant of the P. & C. Coy's service/.Died July 25, 1877 aged 57 years/.
Text.

17. Sacred/to the memory of/MYRA ELIZABETH DORIS/Eldest daughter of/George and Mary SHERMAN/who departed this life/at Culpee on 9th June 1879/aged 14 years 4 months 15 days/.
Text.

18. RICHARD CUTHBERT/2nd officer of the ship/"Michael Scott"/Died 23rd April 1871/.
Rest is illegible.
Text.

19 to 26. No inscriptions on these monuments.

27. Sacred/to the memory of/Mrs. GRACE REID/the beloved wife of/ Mr. Sub-Conductor A. Reid/who departed this life/on the 14th Mar. 1832/aged 23 years/.

28. In loving memory of/JOHN VINCENT GIDDENS/Govt. Telegraph/ accidentally drowned on 4th Nov. 1900. Aged 29 years and 24 days.
Text.

29. Erected/to the memory/of/DONALD MACKINNON/who died on Wednesday/10th Sept. 1902/on board S/S "Manora" at Kalpi/aged 43 years, 8 months and 10 days/.

30. A Wooden Cross bearing the following inscription in Bengali.
NARAYAN CHANDRA HALDAR.

31. A Wooden Cross bearing the following inscription in Bengali.
BEJOY KRISHNA HALDAR, April-May 1907 (Bengali Year 1314 month Baisakh).

32. Iron Cross with no inscription.

33 to 35. No monument to these graves.

36. Beneath this stone/lie buried the remains of/HAROLD JAMES HUNTLY/who was drowned on the 14th August 1899/of Diamond Harbour Creek/by the sinking of the Port Commissioners'/despatch vessel "Resolute"/after having been in collision with the B. I. S. N. Co.'s S/S "Scindia"/.

This tablet is erected by the past and present/officers of the river survey to the memory of/Capt. GEORGE DALRYMPLE WALLER River Surveyor/ARTHUR JAMES HUDSON, Chief Engineer/GERALD KIRBY STONE and HAROLD JAMES HUNTLY/Assistant Surveyors/

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and of thirteen natives all of whom perished in/the same disaster in the execution of their duty/.

Text.

37. In loving memory/of/MARY EMILY (MINNIE)/Beloved wife of Ernest HOPEWELL/born 30th August 1864, died 3rd May 1905/.

Text.

Also ERNEST CARLYLE HOPEWELL/born 18th Sept. 1881/died 24th June 1899/and EDWARD HERBERT HOPEWELL/born 14th Novr. 1900 died 11th June 1901.

38. FELIX BERLIYET ne 20th Aoütt 1834.

39. To the memory/of/Mr. THOMAS POMFRETT/late officer of the/ H. C. S. "Europe"/died 10th of Nov. 1805 aged 21 years/.

40. To the respected memory of a beloved/and much lamented daughter/ AGNES MILLER/who died August 9th 1790 and whose earthly remains rest here interred/this monument is dedicated/by her affectionate Father.

41 to 44. No inscription on these monuments.

45. Sacred/to the memory of/THOMAS THOMPSON/who departed this life/26th Oct. 1795/aged 36 years/11 (?) years Post Master of this Harbour this/monument erected by his disconsolate widow/Mrs. Mary Thompson/.

46. In/affectionate remembrance/of/COLIN McCOLL born at Port Appin N. B. 15th May 1870/died at Diamond Harbour 31st July 1901/aged 31 years/.

47. Sacred/to the memory of/ISABELLA HUTCHINSON WOOD/second Daughter of/Capt. A. H. Wood 15th N.I./Obiit 3rd November 1824. Aetat 4 years/This monument is erected/as a token of affection and regret by her afflicted parents/.

48. Sacred/to the memory of/the infant son of/Capt. EASTGATE, and of/ Lydia his wife/Died 22nd May, 1826/aged 3 months and 6 days/.

Text.

49. No inscription on this monument.

50. In loving memory of/Gunner HENRY GEORGE YELLOLY/13 Coy. E.D.R.A./Died at Chingrika 29th Jany. 1896/aged 24 years 8 months/.

Text.

This stone is erected by his brother/Robert William Yelloly.

51. No inscription on this monument.

52. Sacred/to the memory of/Mr. WM. WHITE/Post Master of this Harbour/who departed this life/The 5th December,/1814/aged 38 years/.

53. Sacred/to the memory of/Mr. ANDREW MC.DONALD/Branch Pilot of the H.C.'s Marine/who departed this life/on the 1st of June 1814/aged 47 years/.

54. Sacred/to the memory/of/Mr. ALEXANDER STEWART/5th Officer of/ the H. M. Coy's Ship/"Lord Camden"/who departed this life/on the 15th of May 1797/aged 18 years/.

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55. To the memory of/Lieutenant Colonel/J. F. Desbarres C. B./of H. M. 87th Reg. of Foot/who died on Board the ship/"Waterloo"/on the 21st April 1817.

56. Sacred/to the memory of/Miss ELIZA BARNSBY/who died on the 5th Augt. 1825 aged 27 years/.
Erected in token of Friendship/by Henry and Sophia Chalke.

57. No inscription on this monument.

58. . . . . of Wm. E. . . . . / of the 4th Regiment of Cavalry/This monument is erected/by his affectionate widow.

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Victoria Memorial Hall.

A NEW PORTRAIT OF WARREN HASTINGS.

SEVERAL interesting additions have been made to the collection of pictures and books at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

The most notable of these is a full length seated portrait of Warren Hastings in a brown suit (66 inches by 44 inches). In January last a sale was held at Winkworth Hill, Hascombe, near Godalming, by order of the Trustees of the late Sir Charles Herbert Theophilus Metcalfe (1853-1928), the sixth baronet. Sir Charles, who was a famous railway engineer and an intimate friend of Cecil Rhodes, built the bridge over the Zambesi river which spans the Victoria Falls. He was the son of Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, C.B., the fifth baronet (B. C. S. 1848-1866), who was joint magistrate at Delhi in 1857, and his mother Charlotte Low, whose father General Sir John Low (1788-1880) of the Madras Army, was Military Member of the Governor-General's Council from 1853 to 1858, was the grand-daughter of John Talbot Shakespear (B. C. S. 1801-1825) and Emily Thackeray: but, apart from this, he had no connexion with India. That connexion is, however, continued by his cousin, Sir Theophilus John Massie Metcalfe, the present baronet, who served in the Burma Commission from 1888 to 1921, and whose father, the late Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S.I. (B.C.S. 1857-1889) was at one time Chairman of the Corporation of Calcutta.

Among the family pictures was this portrait of Warren Hastings. On the back of the canvas are the words: "I. T. set on pinx. 1784 Calcutta." It returns therefore to its first home after an absence of exactly one hundred and fifty years.

THE ARTIST.

John Thomas Seton, a Scottish painter, came out to Bengal in 1776 and sailed for England in the autumn of 1785. (Warren Hastings, it will be remembered, took his passage in the *Berrington* Indiaman which started on her homeward voyage on February 1, 1785). From advertisements in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October and November 1784, we learn that his house was situated "in the avenue behind the residence of the Governor-General", and that the southern boundary of its grounds was "a road leading from the Great Road" (Old Court House Street) to the house of Edward Wheler.

As Seton paid George Templer Rs. 33,000 for this house in October 1783, it would seem that he prospered during his nine years' residence in Calcutta. Indeed, if we are to believe Ozias Humphry, who writes, not without a touch

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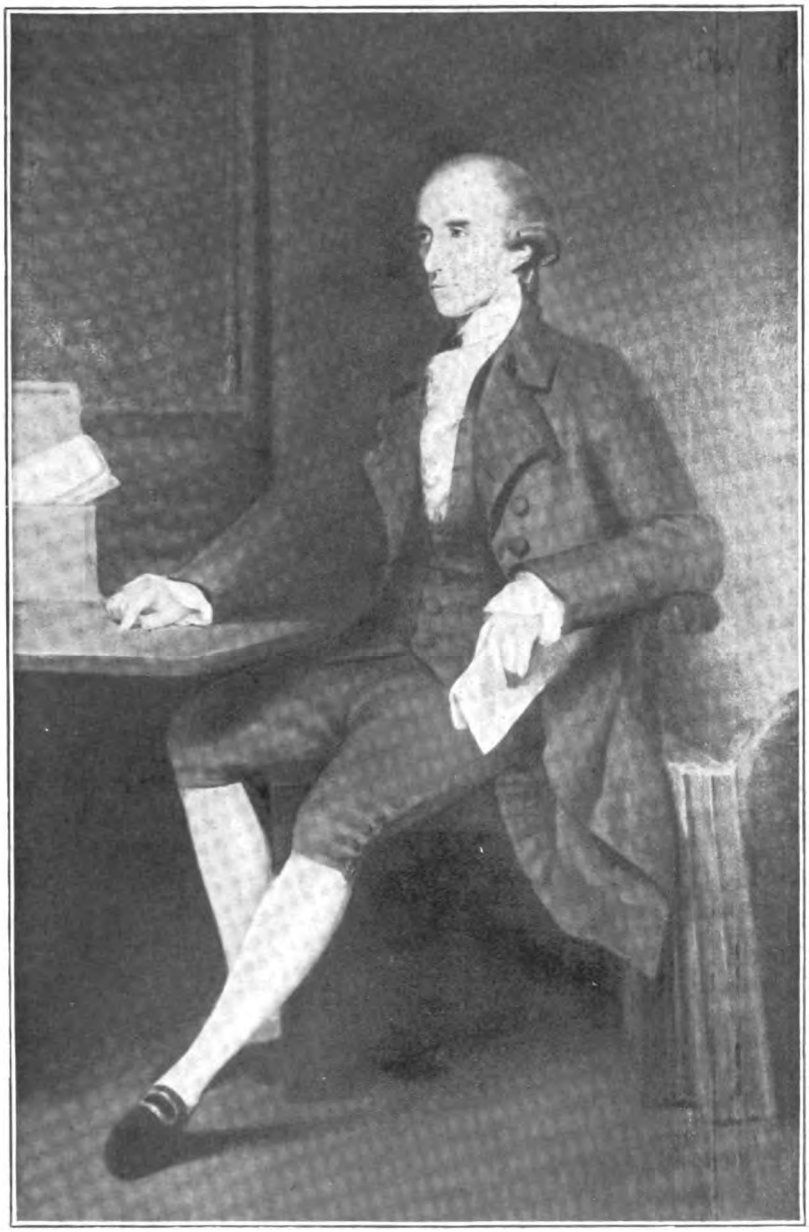

WARREN HASTINGS.
By J. T. Seton.
Painted at Calcutta in 1784.
Acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall, 1934.

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of envy to a friend in London from Calcutta on November 22, 1785, he had then "just returned to England after an easy time in Bengal and with twelve thousand pounds in his pocket." He settled again in Edinburgh and was living there in 1806. The date of his death is not known.

OTHER PORTRAITS BY SETON.

Several of Seton's portraits have been traced of recent years. Mr. W. C. Macpherson C.S.I. (B.C.S. 1877-1911) owns three, of which the subjects are his ancestor Colonel Allan Macpherson of the Bengal Army, his wife Eliza Fraser (whom he married in Calcutta on January 3, 1782) and his brother Colonel John Macpherson: and those of the Colonels are reproduced in Mr. Macpherson's book "Soldiering in India 1764-1787" (Blackwood, 1928). According to the receipt which has been preserved, Seton was paid on September 27, 1783, the sum of sicca Rs. 1700 for the three portraits.(1)

A better known picture is the full length portrait in uniform of Sir Eyre Coote (96 inches by 58 inches) which hangs in the Council-Chamber at the India Office, it was formerly at the India House in Leadenhall Street, but it is not known how it found its way there. For many years the identity of the artist was undiscovered; but when it was sent to be cleaned about the year 1922 a monogram reading I. T. S. was noticed on the lower right hand portion of the canvas. As Coote died at Madras in April 1783, the picture must have been painted early in, but more probably before, that year. A coarsely-executed, but uncommon, engraving was published in Calcutta in May 1783 by Caleb Garbraud, a forgotten artist, who took to dealing in piece goods at Luckipore and died at Chittagong on March 10, 1794.

Other portraits painted by Seton in Bengal are connected with the D'Oyly family, and were sold by auction at Christie's in 1930. These represented Sir John Hadley D'Oyle (1754-1818) the sixth baronet and intimate friend of Warren Hastings, his wife Diana Rochfort, and John Fendall, member of the Supreme Council and Lieut.-Governor of Java, whose daughter Mary was the second wife of the eighth baronet, also named John Hadley D'Oyly and also of the Bengal Civil Service.

A REPLICA OF THE HASTINGS PORTRAIT.

Included in this collection was a full length seated portrait of Warren Hastings in a brown suit—identical in size and composition with the one now acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall but differing in the inscription on the back of the canvas which reads: "I. T. Seton Pinx. 1784 Bengal."(2) There was no difficulty in identifying it with the not very satisfactory mezzotint by

(1) The last remnant of the sicca rupee is the barrister's gold mohur which is valued at Rs. 17 instead of Rs. 16.

(2) Sir John D'Oyly, the sixth baronet, for whom this picture was no doubt painted, was "Resident at the Durbar of the Nabob of Bengal at the city of Moorshedabad." Hickey relates (Vol. III, pp. 236-237) how he made over charge in November 1784 of this highly lucrative post to the dashing and extravagant "Bob" Pott.

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John Jones which was published in London in April 1785 and re-issued by R. Dalton in 1797. The purchaser, a London dealer, showed it at the Warren Hastings Bicentenary Exhibition at Westminster School in December 1932. Unfortunately, the legs have been amputated below the knees, in order (apparently) to make the painting conform with the engraving.

The picture which Calcutta is to possess has, happily, escaped the operation: and the colouring is as fresh as when it was applied. It seems reasonable to suppose that it was commissioned by Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (1745—1813), the first of the Metcalfe baronets and father of Lord Metcalfe. He was certainly in Calcutta in 1784, for he was then military store keeper in Bengal, and his son, the "Liberator of the Indian Press," who was baptized at the Old Cathedral (St. John's Church) on April 18, 1785, was, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, born on January 14 of that year at the "Lecture House, Calcutta", a historic spot which I am wholly unable to locate. No doubt, Major Metcalfe took the picture with him when he returned to England with a handsome fortune derived from the operations of the Bengal Bank(3) and embarked upon a new career as Director of the East India Company from 1789 to 1812 and M. P. for Abingdon.

MOOR'S "HINDOO PANTHEON".

Another prize secured at the same sale is a very fine copy of Major Edward Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*, a work published in 1810 and much sought after. Edward Moor (1771-1848) was an officer of the Bombay Army who served with Captain Little's detachment which co-operated with the Mahrattas against Tippoo Sultan in 1794, and who wrote an account of the campaign. He was subsequently garrison store-keeper at Bombay, and on his retirement in 1806, was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and was also an original member of the Royal Asiatic Society which he helped to found. There is reason to believe that he was the owner of the picture reputed to be by Zoffany(4) and representing the reception by Lord Cornwallis of one of the sons of Tippoo which was acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall by Lord Curzon in 1924: it was, according to Dr. G. C. Williamson, bought in London about the year 1815, and in 1920 was in the possession of Major E. C. Moor, Great Bealings,

(3) William Hickey (Vol. III, p. 275) records that in April 1785 the partners in the Bengal Bank were Metcalfe, Jacob Rider (Lord Metcalfe's godfather) and Benjamin Mee, uncle of Lord Palmerston the Prime Minister. "The emoluments of this business were immense, their notes being as current as cash all over the British dominions in Asia and in circulation to an amount almost incredible." In 1792, when Metcalfe had no longer a connexion with the business, the Bank stopped payment, and Mee fled the country.

(4) Mr. Percy Brown, who removed a very heavy coat of dirt and decayed varnish from the picture in August 1930, doubts the ascription to Zoffany. "Its technique alone is sufficient to expose such a myth and in no sense can it be considered to come from the hand of that artist. In fact, it is difficult to see how the story started. There is no resemblance either in style or method to Zoffany's handiwork." Lord Curzan writing in 1924 (B. P. and P. Vol. XXVIII, p. 1) thought, on the contrary, that the picture was almost certainly by Zoffany and quoted Dr. Williamson in support of his contention.

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Woodbridge, Suffolk, who showed it at the Muhammadan Exhibition in Whitechapel in 1908.

Most copies of the *Hindoo Pantheon* which came into the market are spoiled by the fact that the margins of the plates are cut in order to make them fit the pages of letterpress. In this case, the copy is perfect in every particular and the pages are uncut: and although re-backing has been necessary, the original boards are intact and in excellent condition.

THE CALCUTTA RIVER FRONT IN 1913.

An equally desirable addition to the collection is a picture in oils (19 inches by 31 inches) of the river-front at Calcutta in 1913. It is the gift of the painter. Mr. Malcolm H. Beattie, a retired member of the Bengal Pilot Service, who resides at Eastbourne. The dominant note is supplied by the High Court building which occupies the right hand corner of the canvas: and the white dome of the General Post Office is seen in the centre. A number of country boats of various types in the foreground provide a striking contrast to the steamers anchored at the jetties. Mr. Beattie is an accomplished artist and his composition is as pleasing as it is well executed.

A SCHOLAR AND HIS NEPHEW.

Among the treasures already at the Victoria Memorial Hall is a manuscript catalogue of the library of Tippoo Sultan which was made by Major Charles Stewart for the College of First William and is signed and dated by him January 7, 1806. Interest therefore attaches to a portrait in oils (10 inches by 16 inches) of this eminent oriental scholar which has been presented by his kinsman Capt. W. S. R. Brock. Charles Stewart (1769-1837) entered the Bengal Army in 1782 and retired in 1808 with the rank of major. He saw service in Upper India and Rohilkhand and accompanied Col. Symes' mission to Amarapura in 1802-1803. From 1800 to 1806 he was Assistant Professor of Persian at Lord Wellesley's short lived college of Fort William: and from 1807 to 1827 he was Professor of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani at the East India College at Haileybury. His best known work is a "History of Bengal from the first Mahomedan Invasion until 1757" which was published in 1813. But he deserves to be remembered also by his translation from the Persian of the "Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe" during the years 1799 to 1803—an extremely entertaining and instructive book. The portrait of Abu Taleb by James Northcote R. A. can be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall: it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1801.(5)

(5) Abu Taleb writes (2nd Edn. Vol. I, p. 229): "During my residence in London, no less than six pictures were taken of me, the greater number of which were said to be good likenesses. The following are the names of the persons who did me this honour: Mr. [Henry] Edridge [A. R. A. 1769—1821], also celebrated as an engraver, Mr. Devis, Mr. Jesit [*sic*], Mr. [Samuel] Drummond, [A. R. A. 1765—1844], Mr. Ridley, and Mr. [James] Northcote [R. A. 1746—1831]. I thought Mr. Edridge's was the best likeness: but Mr. Northcote's was esteemed the finest picture."

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Accompanying the picture of Major Stewart is another portrait in oils (16 inches by 14 inches) of his nephew Lieut.-Col. William Stewart (1794-1865) of the Madras Army, who was the great-uncle of Capt. Brock.

THE FIRST INDIA GENERAL MEDAL.

The gift is completed by an example of the first India General Medal, suspended from the original sky-blue ribbon and inscribed with the words "to the Army of India, 1799-1826." It has three bars—for Nagpore, Maheidpore, and Ava ; the first two are uncommon. Owing to the circumstance that the medal was not issued to Col. Stewart and other recipients until 1841, it bears (somewhat unexpectedly) the effigy of Queen Victoria.

A DRAWING BY THOMAS DANIELL.

Finally, mention must be made of a large finished sepia drawing by Thomas Daniell R. A., which is authenticated by the following pencil inscription on the mount :

> Mahabalipoor, 11 October 1792. Engraved in "Antiquities of India", 1799, where the plate is described as "Sculptured Rocks at Mavalipooram on the coast of Coromandel."
>
> From the collection of Dr. Percy. The drawing is numbered 115 on the back by the artist, and has two notes by Dr. Percy and his Collector's mark.

The Daniells halted at the Seven Pagodas on their way back to Madras from their extensive tour in South India. The drawing reveals the extraordinary accuracy of the artist—an accuracy which has received official recognition, for when the temple of Siva in the fortress of Rohtas was rebuilt some years ago under the orders of the Government of Bihar, the fine acquatint in the first series of *Oriental Scenery* was utilized as a model.

EVAN COTTON.

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The Ambela Campaign, 1863.

(See ante, Vol. XLVI, No. 91, p. 14 "Events leading to the Ambela Expedition, 1863")

THE troops were hastily collected from the northern stations, which were dangerously weakened ; and there was no reserve nearer than Lahore, over two hundred miles, as the crow flies, from Peshawar, with of course, no railway yet to connect them. The transport was hastily collected of bad animals and worse drivers ; and the only redeeming feature in the whole arrangement was the appointment of Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain, commanding the Panjab Irregular Force, to the chief command. (1) His great reputation and experience, won in many campaigns, his striking personal bravery and his chivalrous character warranted the assurance of ultimate success. But his service had all been in the East, and he had never had a chance of shaking himself free from the essential faults of the Indian Army.

Chamberlain decided upon adopting the plan of operations as advocated by the Panjab authorities with the exception that the Hazara column was not to take any active part in the movements against the Hindustanis, but was simply to remain stationary at Darband with the sole object of overawing the Hassanzais and other tribes on both banks of the Indus, and protecting the Hazara frontier from attack ; the active operations against Sittana being confined entirely to the column under his personal command. (2)

There were early miscarriages in the concentration of the force—insufficient boats for the passage of the Indus, backwardness in the preparations of the Commissariat and Ordnance Departments—and it was not until October 18, 1863, that the leading troops moved from Swabi to Nawakila, a feint being simultaneously made towards the Daran Pass (by which the force under Major-General Sir S. J. Cotton entered the hills in 1858) to mask the real line of advance. (3)

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(1) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. From the Secretary Government of India with the Governor-General, Military Department, to the Adjutant General of the Army, No. 414, dated 25th September, 1863.

(2) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

(3) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

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On the night of the 19th the leading troops joined the advanced party of the main body from Nawakila at Parmali ; and the whole [*Cavalry*: 100 Guides Cavalry, 100 11th Bengal Lancers (Probyn's Horse); *Artillery* : 2 mountain batteries. *Infantry* : Guides Infantry, 1st, 5th, 20th Panjab N.I., 5th Gurkhas], under Colonel Wilde of the Guides, moved northward upon the Ambela Pass. Colonel Reynell Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshwar Division, who accompanied this column, had in the afternoon of the same day, when it was too late for the Chamla or other tribes to make any preparations on a large scale for impeding the march of the British troops through the Ambela Pass, sent forward proclamations to the Chamla, Khudu Khel, Gadun, Amazai, Mada Khel, and Buner tribes, setting forth the object for which the British force was about to enter the Chamla valley, and assuring them that "it was with no intention of injuring them or of interfering with their independence, but solely because it was the most convenient route by which to reach the Hindustani fanatics, and to effect their expulsion from the Mahaban."(4)

At sunrise on the 20th the force reached the entrance to the Pass, where the baggage was parked ; and the advance was then continued through the defile, flanking parties being duly thrown out upon the hills on either hand. About two-thirds of the distance had been traversed when at noon shots were fired by straggling parties of tribesmen. These were dislodged with little difficulty, one prisoner being captured ; and by 2 p.m. the top of the Pass had been secured. Wilde then encamped his men there and on the space beyond, on fairly open and level ground, leaving room for the main body to bivouac in rear.(5)

The main body (3 guns, C Battery, 19th Brigade, R.A., 500 71st H.L.I.; 550 101st ; 3rd, 6th, and 32nd Punjab N.I., 1 company Sappers and Miners) meanwhile was in difficulties. It had started from Nawakila at one o'clock in the morning, reached Rustum some twelve miles to the north-west, at seven, and moved off eastwards upon Surkhawi—another four miles—at nine. As far as Surkhawi the track had been tolerably good, but just beyond it came the Pass, and then troubles began.(6)

The way lay, as usual up the bed of a stream, obstructed by boulders and large masses of rock, and over-grown with low trees and scrub. It was necessary to load the guns on to the backs of elephants ; and in many places even the men could move only in single file. Late in the afternoon the column closed in upon the rear of Wilde, but the guns did not get in until ten o'clock at night, while the rearguard was still at Surkhawai. The

(4) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

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ammunition-mules had with great difficulty accompanied their battalions, but not a single baggage-animal came in the night. (7)

On the 21st the baggage began to struggle through the Pass. The mules and ponies broke down in all directions; and their drivers were helpless and intractable. Loads were thrown by the hapless beasts and knocked off by overhanging branches, and the road became choked. A great effort to push on stores for the European troops before nightfall increased the confusion and the obstacles at narrow points in the track. The whole line came to a dead stop. Very little baggage reached Chamberlain on that day and the rearguard was still far in the rear. (8)

According to the programme, the column should have been at least at Kogah in the Chamla valley by the 21st, but it was not yet even clear of the Pass. Still the outlook was not so far very serious.

On the 21st Chamberlain telegraphed to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab that the Pass was "much longer and more difficult than was anticipated and that the Buner tribe had assembled but it was hoped would not act against us." And on the following day, the General again telegraphed: "Force had to halt to allow baggage, supplies, and rear-guard to come up. Road very bad. Carriage and drivers inefficient. Hopes the force will be able to move into the Chamla valley to-morrow; but it cannot march in complete. The Buner tribe still assembled at mouth of their own pass, which penetrates the Guru range, and faces Ambela on the left of our line of march. They are doubtful of our designs, and apprehension has been created in their minds by the fanatics." (9)

On the morning of October 22, the rearguard being then at no great distance from the camp, it was considered that the preliminary steps might be taken for moving the force forward. Accordingly, in the forenoon, a detachment of Sappers was set to work to improve the descent of the Pass. The road was fair, and the Pass, about two miles in length, was then unoccupied by the enemy. The Sappers were supported by the 20th Panjab N.I., under Major C. H. Brownlow, and, as soon as the road was reported tolerably good, were followed by the cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel D. M. Probyn. The Sappers were then sent back to camp, and the cavalry proceeded to reconnoitre, supported by the 20th Panjab Infantry, which occupied the gorge of the Pass, the reconnaissance being conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel A. Taylor, Royal Engineers, accompanied by Lieutenant R. G. Sandeman, Assistant Commissioner. (10)

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

(9) Panjab Government Records. *MSS.* File No. 24. Abstract of telegrams. From General Chamberlain, Commanding Field Force, to the Secretary to Government, Panjab.

(10) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

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From the foot of the Pass there were two roads through the Chamla valley: one passed by the village of Ambela, and lay under the hills which divided Chamla from Buner on the north side of the valley ; the other road was by Kogah and along the south side of the valley ; and as Ambela, though actually in Chamla, was regarded by the Bunerwals as one of their own villages, the orders to Lieut.-Colonel Taylor were to proceed by the Kogah route, to guard in every possible way against giving offence to the Bunerwals, and prove to them the intentions of the British to hold entirely aloof from them and their country.(11)

A party of cavalry advanced to Kogah, four miles from camp, keeping as far as possible from the territory of the Bunerwals on the north side of the valley, and Lieut.-Colonel Taylor, with a small escort, finding the valley level and clear, pushed seven miles further on to Kuria. Large bodies of Bunerwals had been observed watching the proceedings from their own territory on the Guru Mountain ; and when Taylor, having returned Kogah late in the afternoon, was making his way back to camp, great numbers of them were seen descending to occupy some broken ground at the very head of the valley and thus to intercept the return of the reconnoitring party.(12)

It was necessary to prevent this, and to check them until Major Brownlow could come up in support ; with this view the cavalry charged in the most spirited way, and sabred six of the enemy. Major Brownlow then occupied the broken ground with two companies, and the cavalry, under a small escort of infantry, returned to camp.(13)

The rearguard duties now devolved of Major Brownlow. Emboldened by the continued retreat of the party, the enemy recovered from the effects of the cavalry charge, and, by the time the Pass was fairly entered, had assembled in great numbers, and had surrounded a picquet under Lieut. G. M. Richmond on the north side of the Pass, which it took some time to withdraw.(14)

By this time daylight had quite gone, and the remainder of the retirement was effected in dim moonlight. The enemy pressed Major Brownlow very closely, and several times came in amongst his men sword in hand. Eventually, as the troops drew into camp, the picquets became engaged, and there was a general attack upon them in the front and on the flanks of the camp, which continued at intervals until midnight ; but the enemy were repulsed with but trifling loss to the British troops.(15)

This event caused Chamberlain to telegraph to the Panjab Government on October 23, thus: "The Buner tribe having acted against us, threaten our line of communication with Rustum. To enable us to maintain the

(11) *Ibid.*
(12) *Ibid.*
(13) *Ibid.*
(14) *Ibid.*
(15) *Ibid.*

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Pass, or operate in the direction intended, it will be necessary to hold the Pass in strength. I have ordered up wing of the Ferozepore regiment, from Nawakila to Rustum. I have asked Commissioner to arrange for occupation of lower portion of the Pass by Levies. Another Native Infantry regiment must be given from Peshawar, and should be sent to Rustom at once. More Native Infantry may yet be necessary to secure our present line of communication."(16)

Here it must be noted that the Governor-General being then in Tibet and the Commander-in-Chief also being in the interior of the hills, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab to save time was obliged to take upon himself the duty of attending to General Chamberlain's requisition. It has been shown that the troops at Rawalpindi and in the Peshawar valley had already been much reduced, nevertheless His Honour at once requested the General Commanding at Pshawar to send another Native Regiment to the Ambela Pass. Accordingly the 4th Gurkhas joined Chamberlain on October 29.(17)

It was now discovered that the Hindustani Fanatics had been too cunning for the British agents. Before the issue of Reynell-Taylor's proclamation they had by some means learned its purport and, setting forth its terms almost word for word, warned the Bunerwals that these professions were merely a cloak for the real purpose of the British, which was to devastate and annex Chamla, Buner and Swat.(18)

Had chamberlain's column been able to pursue the scheme originally laid down for it and to march rapidly through the Chamla valley upon Malka, the insinuations of the Fanatics might have been belied. But there his troops stood, halted in the Pass, and there they had been for three days, which was sufficient to lend colour to the imputation of sinister designs. In any case the mischief was done.

That the Bunerwals should have taken a decidedly hostile attitude towards the British was extremely serious, and not only altered the British position in the hills, but required a changé in the plan of operations. The security of the communications of the force with the rear had first to be arranged for, and the wing of the 14th Native Infantry was ordered up from Nawakila to Rustam, and application made for another native infantry regiment to be sent from Peshawar. Chamberlain requested the Commissioner to arrange for the occupation of the lower portion of the Pass with his foot levies, and thought it probable that he should have to ask for more native infantry before the communications with the rear could be

(16) Panjab Government Records. *MSS*. File No. 24. Abstract of telegrams. From General Chamberlain, Commanding Field Force, to the Secretary to Government, Panjab.

(17) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(18) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

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considered secure, even so long as the force occupied its position on the crest of the Ambela Pass.(19)

The plan of operations, as already shown, was to use the Chamla valley as a route to reach the Hindustani settlement on the Mahaban, but it now became doubtful if it could be adhered to. With a powerful and warlike tribe like the people of Buner in declared hostility on the left flank of the proposed line of march, and in a position to which they could always return, even though once dislodged and beaten, it seemed impossible to persevere in the original plan of operations.

Moreover, as information had been received that the Bunerwals had summoned the Hindustanis to their aid, and that at least a portion of them had obeyed the summons, it was probable the Fanatics would be either encountered in the present position of the British, fighting with the Bunerwals, or have to be sought elsewhere than on the spurs of the Mahaban ; indeed, an advance on the Mahaban would not find them, but would leave them in the rear to harass the march of the British Troops.(20)

On the morning of October 24, 1863, the sick, both British and Indian, all baggage except that absolutely necessary for efficiency, and all carriage rendered spare by this arrangement, were sent to the rear under a strong escort ; whilst an infantry regiment occupied a spur of the Guru mountain, thereby preventing any attack by the Bunerwals on the convoy as it filed down the Pass. At the same time, parties from the camp were employed in improving the road and in removing the worst of the obstacles. The enemy remained quiet, but large bodies of men, with numerous standards, were observed approaching the mouth of the Pass, consisting of the tribes from the northern Indus—Hassanzais, Chagarzais and Mada Khels—with some of the Hindustanis.(21)

Ordinary precaution demanded that strong picquets should be maintained in the rocky hills, patched with forest, which flanked either hand of the camp in the Pass. These posts, three upon either flank, were fortified by loopholed stone walls, *abatis* and sometimes by stockades ; but the ground was so much broken and, in places, so blind that it was not difficult for an enemy to creep up close to the defences in large numbers. The approach to the camp was barred by a breast-work with guns in position, and the rear was likewise secured ; but the posts were so numerous as to lay a constant strain upon the strength of Chamberlain's force.(22)

The enemy were quite cunning enough to understand that the British flanks were their most vulnerable points ; and on October 25, they

(19) *Ibid.*

(20) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(21) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

(22) *Ibid.*

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delivered the first of a series of attacks upon them. It was repulsed with little difficulty, owing to a misunderstanding among the tribes themselves; for it had been arranged that the Fanatics and others should assail the northern picquets and the Bunerwals the southern; and the latter failed to perform their role.

On the following day, however, the Bunerwals made two resolute attempts to storm the outermost of the northern posts—a very steep rocky knoll called the "Eagle's Nest"—at the same time attacking the other British positions on the same side and making a demonstration against the front. They went to work scientifically, employing matchlockmen, in well-chosen cover, to maintain a constant fire which should keep the defenders' heads below the parapet, while the swordsmen ran boldly down to the assault.

They were repulsed after some hours of hard fighting, some two hundred and fifty of them being killed; but the loss of the British also was appreciable, numbering one hundred and twenty-four killed and wounded. (23) The British casualties in action and through sickness were hardly made good by the arrival, on October 27, of the 14th Native Infantry.

And meanwhile new enemies had come upon the scene. On October 26, it had been reported that the Bunerwals had induced the Akhund of Swat to espouse their cause, and news was received on the following day that he had actually joined the Bunerwals, and that he had brought with him from Swat 120 horsemen and upwards of 100 standards (each standard representing probably from thirty to forty foot-men). Besides the tribe with which he was more immediately connected, viz., the Yusafzais of Swat, he had summoned the people of the remote country of Bajour, the Malazais of Dir under their Chief, Ghazan Khan, and other distant tribes, whose names were even hardly known, except to officers who had served long on the frontier. (24)

The Akhund of Swat was an ascetic, named Abdul Ghafar, who had long had great spiritual ascendancy over the Yusafzai clans of Swat, and who was regarded with reverence by the Pathans generally, and his position towards them at this time can best be illustrated by comparing it with that of the Pope of Rome. Till the Ambela expedition the Akhund, with the solitary exception of forcing a king upon the people of Swat, had always held himself aloof from worldly affairs, and had, even in 1857, counselled peace to his disciples, who flocked to him for advice. He was also ostensibly opposed to the tenets of the Sittana fanatics. (25)

(23) Panjab Government Records. *MSS.* File No. 24. Abstract of telegrams. From General Chamberlain, Commanding Field Force, to the Government, Panjab, dated the 26th October, 1863.

(24) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

(25) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67,

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But for the time all sectarian differences were forgotten; the Akhund and the Sittana Maulvi were said to be on the most friendly terms, and it was known that the whole Hindustani colony were either at, or on their way to, Ambela.

Colonel Reynell-Taylor believed (and his belief was shared by the native chiefs, best able to judge, who were in the British camp at the time) that the Akhund had moved in fear that if he did not show sympathy with the Bunerwals on this occasion, he might lose influence with the tribe, who were his natural constituents; and possibly to this was added anxiety lest Mubarak Shah, who was an aspirant to his father's position of Badshah of Swat, might, by having joined the war with the Hindustanis, gain some of the influence which he, the Akhund, would loose. It was also known that the adjurations of the Buner Chiefs and people had been most passionate, all the Mullas of the country, with many of the women, having been deputed to beseech him to adopt their cause. (26)

The Akhund of Swat having joined the enemy meant that there was a general combination of almost all the tribes from the Indus to the boundary of Kabul; and the total number of men in arms against the British force at this time was computed at almost 15,000. (27) Old animosities were for the time in abeyance, and, under the influence of fanaticism, tribes usually hostile to each other had joined, or were hastening to join, the Akhund's standard, and to fight for the sake of their common faith.

Independently of these, moreover, was a mischievous gathering of tribesmen under British sovereignty, who associated themselves with bands of the enemy in infesting the British lines of communication. Chief amongst these were the Utman Khels, an Afridi clan, long settled in the upper parts of the Lundkhwar valley, but who had retained all the wild habits and plundering propensities of their race. They were joined by men from Narinji, and by bigots and malcontents, who, individually, or in parties of two or three, slipped away from a great number of the British villages.

They numbered only a few hundred in all, but were of great use to enemy in harassing the British rear while the main con-course of the tribesmen threatened their front and flanks. (28)

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dated 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(26) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

(27) Panjab Government Records. *MSS.* File No. 24. Abstract of telegrams. From General Chamberlain, Commanding Field Force, to the Lieut.-Governor, Panjab, dated 27th October, 1863.—(Confidential).

(28) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. From Col. Reynell Taylor, late Commissioner, Peshawar, to R. H. Davies, Esq., Secretary to Government, Panjab, dated Abbottabad, the 21st January, 1864.

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Such being the state of affairs, it is easy to understand how entirely the situation had altered since the British force entered the Ambela Pass. Instead of having to deal with the Mahaban tribes, with a view to the expulsion of the Hindustanis from that tract, the British force was now engaged in a contest with the numerous coalition above mentioned.

To advance into the Chamla valley, according to the original plan, appeared now sheer madness, the protection of a big line of laden animals against vastly superior numbers in front, flanks and rear being out of the question. Nor could General Chamberlain even move from his present position into the open ground, for that would mean giving up the Pass, and retaking it at serious cost of life every time he wished to send out a convoy. In fact he had no choice but to sit still and ask for reinforcement, which were none too close at hand.

R. R. SETHI.

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A bygone Chinese Colony in Bengal.

(A sheaf gleaned in the historical field of the Imperial archives).

INTRODUCTION.

1. The towering Mughal empire, once so famous for its pomp and grandeur in the 17th century was rushing headlong to utter decay towards the close of the 18th century, on account of the imbecility and effeminacy of the later Mughal emperors. Allured by the stories of her fabulous wealth and the prospect of acquiring a princely fortune, adventurous fortune-hunters from Europe and other countries began to pour in India in the 18th century. Among the latter TONG ATCHEW was one who visited Bengal from the "Celestial Empire" at the time when the East India Company, after the battle of Plassy, were busy in consolidating their power in this country. We find from the records(1) of the Imperial Record Department that this obscure fortune-hunter from China subsequently became the originator of a Chinese Colony in Bengal which lasted for more than two decades.

ATCHEW GETS A LAND-GRANT FROM WARREN HASTINGS. HE ESTABLISHES A CHINESE COLONY AND A SUGAR-MILL ON THAT LAND.

2. The aforesaid records inform us that during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings, Tong Atchew was given by him a grant of land about 650 *bighas* in area in the district of *24 Parganas* which was situated nearly 6 miles south-west of Budge-Budge at the yearly rent of Rs. 45/-. The reason why this land-grant was made to him by the Governor-General is not apparent from the records which have so far been unearthed. The only thing which strikes a close reader of these records regarding this subject is that Atchew following the wake of the European "Soldiers of Fortune" of the 18th century came to India with the ostensible object of acquiring money and returning home with a loaded pocket. These documents further inform us that Tong Atchew after the receipt of this land established a Chinese Colony and a Sugar manufactory there which subsequently developed into a town and came to be known as *ATCHEPUR* after him in his honour. It will be interesting for the

(1) Public Dept. Original Consultation, 5 Nov. 1781, Nos. 13-14.

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historical students to follow the brief but adventurous career of Atchew in this country which is given below. It is evident from the records that on account of his success in his business and good fortune he picked up many enemies from his own country men who were then residing in Bengal. As they proved great obstacles in the path of his commercial advancement and to the peaceful life of the Chinese inhabitants of his newly founded Colony, he naturally turned towards the Governor-General for help and submitted a memorial to him and to the Members of the Supreme Board in which, while expressing his gratitude for the favour shewn to him, he bitterly complained that the labourers whom he had requisitioned from China at a great expense and trouble to work in his sugar mill were being enticed away by the vagabond and fugitive Chinese sailors of Calcutta who had no ostensible means of livelihood.

ATCHEW'S MEMORIAL TO THE SUPREME BOARD FOR PROTECTION—BOARD'S ORDERS THEREON.

3. The following English translation of the aforesaid memorial (which Atchew signed in Chinese character) bearing the date Calcutta, the 29th October 1781, speaks eloquently on the subject—

"Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

The kind protection which I have hitherto experienced and the encouragement afforded by small colony by the grant of lands which I have cultivated with some success induces me to trouble you again with this address and to request your assistance without which, I am afraid, it will be impossible to retain my people in my service or keep them to their duty. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the ruinous consequences of suffering these people whom I, at great expense, have brought so great a distance under indentures to serve me for the space of (?) years to be spirited away. The persons who have thus wantonly endeavoured to injure me are the Chinese who have deserted from the ships and remain in Calcutta without any apparent means of subsistence. I therefore beg that these vagrants may be severely punished if detected in such practices for the future and that orders may be issued to assist me in recovering any person deserting from my service and that no one may be allowed to protect or employ any of my indentured servants." The witness to this letter was Mr. C. Rothman.

The Supreme Board, wishing to give every encouragement to the colony of the Chinese who were making good use of the land granted to Atchew agreed that the following advertisement would be published which was done under the date Fort William, the 5th November 1781:—

"Whereas it has been represented to the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council by Atchew, a native of China, now under the protection of this Government that several ill-disposed persons have endeavoured to entice away the Chinese labourers in his employ who are under indentures

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to him for a term of years, Notice is hereby given that the Board, wishing to grant every encouragement to the colony of the Chinese under the direction of Atchew, are determined to afford him every support and assistance in detecting such persons and bringing them to condign punishment for inveigling away his people or affording them shelter from him.

By order of the Governor-General and Council,

(Sd.) J. P. AURIOL, Secretary."

DEATH OF ATCHEW—HIS SUGAR-MILL SOLD.

4. Atchew died shortly after this as it appears from a letter written by the Attorney to the East India Company on the 8th December 1783. In this letter the Attorney applied to the executor of Tong Atchew for the payment of a bond signed by the deceased in favour of the Company. Though Atchew died about the year 1783 yet his Sugar Manufactory at ATCHEPUR continued to work to 1804 when the question of selling his estate and sugar mill was raised. On the 15th November 1804 an advertisement(2) was issued to the following effect :—

"The estate of Atchew, situated about 6 miles below Budge-Budge with all the buildings, stills, sugar-mills and other fixtures is for sale."

Thus the importance of ATCHIPUR as a Chinese colony gradually ceased to exist, till at last it became an ordinary rural village of Bengal.

ATCHEW'S TOMB AND A CHINESE TEMPLE AT ATCHIPUR.

5. The village of Achipur contains the tomb of its founder which is a horse-shoe shaped structure. There is also a Chinese temple here, whose court-yard is surrounded by walls full of Chinese inscriptions. The Chinese residents of Calcutta come to this shrine on pilgrimage every year about February and offer their prayer in this sacred building.

BASANTA KUMAR BOSE.
Imperial Record Dept., Calcutta.

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(2) *24-Parganas Dist. Gazetteer*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., 1914.

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The Black Hole of Calcutta.

A POSTSCRIPT.

MAY I add as a postscript to the notes printed in the last number (*ante* pp. 51—56) that Nathan Drake (No. 6) was not related to Governor Roger Drake? A pedigree of his family, which was settled in Yorkshire in the middle of the 16th century, may be found in Hunter's *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, iii. 1157 (Harleian Soc. Vol. XXXIX). He was the only son of Rev. William Drake, rector of Full Sutton (bur. Hatfield Feb. 1756), by Isabel his first wife, daughter of James Smith of Manningham. Hunter enters him thus in the pedigree :—

> Nathan, b. at Hatfield 20 Aug. 1736 ; Member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta [*sic*] ; d. in the Black Hole.

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Chance enables me to add one more identification to my list :—

19. SIMON, Colin. Lieutenant and Engineer. Fourth and youngest son of Rev. Matthew Simson (1673—1756), minister of Pencaitland, by Alison his 2nd wife, daughter of Andrew Drummond of Megginch. Was wounded in the fighting and died in the Black Hole. "Perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta, 1756."

> *Hew Scott's Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae (new edn., 1915), i. 386 (where he is erroneously called "surgeon"). The Pedigree Register, i. 164 (Sept. 1908).*

It is worth recording that his cousin-german, Jean, daughter of Rev. John Simson, professor of Divinity at Glasgow, was the mother of General Sir John Moore.

Colin Simson came of a family remarkable for its close connexion with the Scots Kirk. His elder brother, Rev. Patrick Simson (b. *c.* 1712), was the sixth successive generation from father to son, commencing with Rev. Andrew Simson, minister of Dunbar in 1564, to be called and ordained a minister. Further, five of his great-great-great-uncles were ministers.

V. C. P. HODSON..

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A Letter of Warren Hastings.

HERCULES DURHAM AND HIS SON.

WITH reference to Dr. Firminger's biographical note on Hercules Durham,(1) the following, hitherto unpublished, letter,(2) from Warren Hastings should undoubtedly be placed on record in these pages. Not only does it serve to substantiate our knowledge of the career of that versatile Scot, but it also affords a pleasing instance of Hastings' solicitude for the welfare of the dependants of those who had deserved well of the Hon. Company.

Fort William, 20th Apl., 1779.

Sir,

I have been very earnestly solicited by Mrs. Durham, the widow of a Gentleman who held several Posts in this Service, to apply to you in Behalf of her Son, a Youth about fifteen Years of age, who is at present in England.

The Father of this young Man was formerly an officer in His Majesty's Service, and came a Cadet to Bengal in 1772. He served on the Expedition to Cooch Beyhar, and acted for some Months as Surgeon to the Detachment. By a very strict and humane attention to his Duty, he contracted a Disorder in that unhealthy Country, which hung upon him to the Time of his Death in October 1776.

On Mr. Durham's Return from Cooch Beyhar he quitted the Army, and officiated as Deputy Zemindar in Calcutta much to the satisfaction of the Board, until the Institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature, when he was appointed Attorney to the Company, an Employment he executed with Diligence and Fidelity, but was obliged at last to resign it on account of the declining state of his Health.

At his Death which happened soon after, his Family was left in great Distress, and as I deem the Conduct of Mr. Durham to have been highly meritorious, I think it a Point of Duty & Justice in me, to make it a particular Request to you, that you will be

(1) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 46-47.

(2) [Holograph 1, p. 4 to] Attached to John Durham's Writer's Petition. [Vol. IX (1781), No. 38.]

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kind enough to use your good offices with the Court of Directors to procure for Mr. John Durham the appointment of a Writer on this Establishment.

I also hope, Sir, that in Consequence of Mrs. Durham's Distress & the Merits of her Husband, you will excuse the Liberty I have taken, in recommending their Son to your Patronage & Protection.

I have the Honor to be,
Sir
Your most Obedient,
Humble Servant,
(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

To
The Chairman
of the Court of Directors.

Hastings' recommendation, which was read in Court on 26th Sept., 1780, resulted in the appointment of young John Durham to a Bengal Writership, dated Oct. 1, 1781, and he was posted the same year as an Assistant in the Secretary's office, General Department. On July 4, 1787 (O. C. 4 July, No. 35) he writes requesting that he may be provided with an employment. On December 31, 1790, being then a Junior Merchant and Examiner in the office of the Board of Revenue, he writes again to the Board of Revenue (O. C. 8th April, 1791, No. 13) soliciting a suitable employment in consideration of the length of his service and the loss sustained by him. This is the last we hear of him ; and with his death in 1792, it is believed that the family of Durham of Grange became extinct in the male line.

V. C. P. H.

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The Editor's Note Book.

Belvedere.

IT has been announced officially that by command of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the residence of the Viceroy in Calcutta, which has hitherto been known as Belvedere, will in future be called the Viceroy's House. The disappearance of this time-honoured name will be received with regret by those who value the memories of the past. There are many allusions to Belvedere as a place of residence at Alipore in writings of the eighteenth century. When in February 1770 the Dutch admiral Stavorinus went with the Director and Council of Chinsurah to congratulate John Cartier on his accession to the office of Governor of Bengal, he wrote that "at six o'clock in the evening Mr. Cartier came to fetch the Director and his company to take a ride to his country seat Belvedere, about two Dutch miles from Calcutta." So also Mrs. Fay in her *Original Letters from India* tells of a visit paid by her in May 1780 to Mrs. Hastings at Belvedere House, "about, I believe, five miles from Calcutta which is a great distance at this season." Macrabie also, the secretary and relative of Philip Francis, who attended the execution of Nuncomar in August 1775 in the capacity of Sheriff, records that he was among those invited to a concert-party given by the Governor-General in February 1776 at "Belvedere his garden." Mr. C. E. Buckland in his *History of Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors* makes mention of an outright sale by Hastings to Colonel Tolly, the excavator of Tolly's Nullah, of "Belvedere" in February 1780. After passing through various hands, the modern mansion was sold to the East India Company in 1854 and became the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal. In 1912 it was transferred to the Government of India for the use of the Viceroy on the occasion of his visits to Calcutta.

The End of the "Englishman."

THE "Englishman", which has been a weekly newspaper since 1930 ceased publication on March 26, after an eventful existence of 113 years. Its progenitor, "John Bull in the East", was founded in 1821 by John Pascal Larkins (B.C.S. 1797—1827) and other servants of the East India Company, as a rival to the *Calcutta Journal*, which had been established three years earlier by James Silk Buckingham as "the organ of the merchants of the city." After the deportation of Buckingham in 1823, the *Journal* was suppressed and *John Bull* was placed under independent management. The celebrated Dr. James Bryce was in charge from 1825 to 1829 and it prospered for a while; but it was moribund when it was bought in 1833 for £1,800 by Joachim Hayward Stocqueler (1800—1885)

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and re-christened. The first number of the "Englishman", as such, appeared on October 1, 1833, and for many years it displayed on its front-page the well-known lines from Milton's *Arcopagitica*: "This is true liberty when free-born men, having to advise the public, may speak out"—an allusion to Act XI of 1835 which granted freedom to the Indian Press. Stocqueler who was a most remarkable man, took full advantage of the gift and collected a staff of clever contributors, mostly advocates of the Supreme Court, who were as outspoken as he was, and became involved in numerous controversies and libel actions, and even duels. His reign lasted until 1842. Under the ownership of John O'Brien Saunders (1852—1905), who succeeded his father, of the same name, in 1878, the *Englishman* reached its apogee and was the most influential newspaper in India. When it celebrated its centenary on July 2, 1921, it had long occupied premises in Hare Street which overlooked St. John's Churchyard and in the time of the genial "Job" Saunders were the scene of many a symposium, both literary and social. But, when the new and palatial offices of the *Statesman* in Chowringhee Square were opened in January 1933, it had passed under the control of the proprietors of that journal and migrated with them. It has not long survived the change.

Charles Thackeray.

CHARLES THACKERAY, the uncle of the author of *Vanity Fair* and the *Newcomes*, will always hold a high place among the leader-writers of the *Englishman*. Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on October 22, 1827, he quickly drifted into journalism. Stocqueler tells us that his practice was to lock Thackeray into a room with pens, ink, paper, and a bottle of claret. The understanding was that he was not to expect release until he had finished both the leading article and the claret, and we are assured that it was always faithfully observed. Editor and contributor soon disagreed, however, and in 1836 Thackeray joined the staff of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, a much older newspaper which began its career in 1780 as the *Indian Gazette and Calcutta Public Advertiser* and ended it as the *Indian Daily News* in 1924. William Ritchie, Advocate General of Bengal from 1856—1861, whose mother was a daughter of "Sylhet" Thackeray, came across his relative in Calcutta in 1842. "I saw Uncle Charles yesterday," he writes to his mother on December 12, 1842, "and was astonished to find him looking so well, tho' he has lately been indisposed."

> I should have recognized his face and voice which bear a great resemblance to those of your family . . . . . I fear he is in bad circumstances: he maintains himself principally by writing for a paper, and his existence here seems almost forgotten by his former colleagues.

In a later letter, of February 16, 1843, Ritchie refers to Thackeray's unfortunate failing and also to his "vigour and intellect and happy flow of wit which is really brilliant." Thackeray died in Calcutta in 1846, and Ritchie in 1862.

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The Robinson Baronets.

MUCH Anglo-Indian history is bound up in the relationships of Mrs. Alice Perrin, the novelist, who died at Vevey in Switzerland on February 13 at the age of sixty-seven. Her great-grandfather Sir George Abercromby Robinson (1750—1832), who received a baronetcy in 1823, was the second son of John Robinson of Calcutta, who was foreman of the jury at the trial of Nanda Kumar and died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1779. He was nominated to a country cadetship in the year of his father's death and retired in 1802 with the rank of captain. We find him holding a variety of important appointments: garrison store-keeper at Fort William, aide-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, military auditor-general, and private secretary to Lord Cornwallis during his second term of office. On his return to England, he became a Director of the East India Company (1808—1829) Chairman of the Court (1820 and again in 1826) and M. P. for Honiton (1813). His elder son, Sir George Best Robinson (1797—1855), the second baronet, was in the Company's Canton service—which was kept as a close preserve for the sons and relatives of Directors—and was superintendent of British trade in China in 1835—1836. He was the father of Sir George Abercrombie Robinson (1826—1891), the second of that name and the third baronet, who was a major in the 22nd Foot (the Cheshire Regiment) which covered itself with glory at Meeanee in 1843: and also of a daughter Louisa who married in 1850 and whose husband, Capt. C. R. G. Douglas of the 32nd Bengal Infantry, was killed in the Palace at Delhi in 1857. The second son of the first baronet, Francis Horsley Robinson (1801—1856) came out to Bengal as a writer in 1824 and served until 1850; and another son, Major Edward Innes Robinson (1811—1856) of the 7th Bengal Light Cavalry, was assistant to the Commissioner of Delhi and Superintendent of the Bhattia country. The fourth baronet, Sir William Le Fleming Robinson (1830—1895) and his younger brother Henry Houlton Robinson (1834—1868) who were nephews of the second baronet, were both members of the Bengal Civil Service: the former from 1851—1878 and the latter from 1854—1862: and the other two brothers Major-General John Innes Robinson (1833—1891) and Jardine Scott Robinson (1840—1862) were in the Bengal Cavalry. Mrs. Perrin was the daughter of General Robinson: and married in 1886 Mr. Charles Perrin (d. 1931) of the Indian Public Works Department. Her elder brother Sir Ernest William Robinson (1862—1924) the fifth baronet, was a planter at Purneah: and her younger brother Sir Douglas Innes Robinson (b. 1863) the sixth and present baronet, married a daughter of Charles Herbert Ames, Madras Civil Service (1851—1864).

The First Marriage of General William Palmer.

MAJOR HODSON writes: In the library of the Society of Genealogists there is a MS. transcript of the church registers of several of the West Indian Islands, presented (I believe) by Dr. V. L. Oliver, author of a *History of Antigua* and editor of *Carribeana*. Among the entries I have come across the following:

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Marriages at St. George and St. Peter, Basseterre, St. Kitts (? May) 1762 :—William Palmer and Sarah Melkado (or Melhado).

Inasmuch as Colonel Samuel Palmer (d. 1814), the eldest son of the celebrated General William Palmer (1740—1816), is said to have been born in St. Kitts in September 1762 and Major William George Palmer (d. 1814), the second son, also at St. Kitts in 1763, it is highly probable that we have here the entry of the first marriage of the General. If so, it disposes of the family legend that the lady was a daughter of a certain Governor Morris or Morice of Barbadoes. General Palmer was undoubtedly an ensign in H. M. 70th Foot from March 1762, to January 1766 and went to the West Indies ("the Grenadoes") with them. He transferred to the Company's Army in 1766, and joined the 3rd Bengal Infantry in August 1767. His third son John Palmer, the "Prince of Merchants," who is incorrectly described as the second son on the pedestal of his bust at the Town Hall, was born on October 8, 1767, and died on January 21, 1836. William Palmer, the famous "King" Palmer of Hyderabad (1781—1867) and father-in-law of Colonel Meadows Taylor, was the eldest of the General's children by his second wife Bibi Faiz Bakhsh, a Begum of Oudh : who died at Hyderabad in 1828. The General's other children were : Hastings Palmer (1785—1860), Charles, born on January 7, 1791, Robert, born in August 1791, Frances (1790—1825) wife of Capt. Samuel Webster and Mary who married Capt. James Arrow (1786—1819) at Berhampore on January 25, 1806 and was the mother of two sons in the Madras Army. Ensign William James Arrow (1807—1832) and Major John Ross Arrow (1811—1859).

The Palmers of Purneah.

MEMORIES of the Palmer family are recalled by the death at Camberley on March 24, in her ninety-seventh year, of Lady Chesney, the widow of Sir George Tomkyns Chesney (1830—1895). She was the daughter of George Palmer of Purneah who baptized in Calcutta on December 20, 1795, the "son of Samuel Palmer, lieutenant, detached with Major Palmer," and whose virtues and death at Purneah on September 10, 1840, are commemorated by a tablet in St. John's Church. Samuel Palmer (1762—1814), as we have mentioned in the preceding note, was the eldest son of General William Palmer, who in the course of his career was military secretary to Warren Hastings and Resident with Scindia and also at the courts of Oudh and Hyderabad. He was commanding at Berhampore when he died there on May 20, 1816. George Palmer and his brother charles, the sons of Colonel Samuel Palmer, were settled in 1811 as planters at Purneah by their uncle John Palmer, the "Prince of Merchants," and Charles survived until March 22, 1873, when he died at the age of 83. He was a renowned shikari : and a writer in the *Statesman* has recently quoted a tribute to his prowess from the late Mr. Frank B. Simson's *Sport in Eastern Bengal* (1886). Simson' (B.C.S. 1847—1873) was a kindred spirit. It is said that when he was at Noakhali as Collector, he declined a transfer on the ground that

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he had made special arrangements with the local zamindars for a successful pig-sticking season. His theme in the extract is, however, the tigers of the Purneah Terai which he describes as large and fierce. Charles Palmer (whom he confuses with his brother George) was, he writes, said to have killed a thousand tigers before he met him in 1862: he was a fine shot and had many excellent elephants.

The Chesneys.

WHEN his niece Annie Louisa Palmer, was married in 1855 to a young subaltern in the Bengal Engineers of the name of George Tomkyns Chesney, she entered another Anglo-Indian family. Chesney was the youngest of the four sons of Captain Charles Cornwallis Chesney (1791—1830), of the Bengal Artillery, and nephew of General Francis Rawdon Chesney (1789—1872), the explorer of the Euphrates and one of the pioneers of the overland route to India. His mother Sophia Louisa Cauty (1800—1875), whose marriage took place at St. Helena in 1818, was probably connected with Captain Richard Finnis Cauty of the "country service" whose daughter Ann Elizabeth Cauty (born at Bombay in 1808) was maaried to George Palmer of Purneah at Calcutta on January 26, 1808.

A Link with the Lawrences.

THE subsequent career of Sir George Chesney, (who was ludicrously described as "the Earl of Chesney" by a commentator in the *Statesman* of December 13, 1932) is well known. He was the first President of the Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, Military Member of the Governor-General's Council, and M. P. for Oxford city. During the mutiny he was severely wounded in the assault of Delhi on September 14, 1857. His eldest son, George MacLagan Chesney, who was born at Roorkee on July 24 of that year and died on June 8, 1926, was editor of the Allahabad *Pioneer* for many years and with Howard Hensman held the foremost place among the Anglo-Indian journalists of his generation. He married in 1889 Caroline Isabella Lawrence, the daughter of Alexander John Lawrence (1837—1905) C.I.E., B.C.S. 1856—1891, who was the son of Lieut.-General Sir George St. Patrick Lawrence (1805—1884) brother of Henry and John Lawrence. Mrs. G. M. Chesney, who attended the funeral of her mother-in-law, is connected with several other Anglo-Indian families through her mother who was a sister of General Sir Sam Browne, V.C. (1824—1901) and of the second wife of Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, B.C.S., the fourth baronet. They were the children of Surgeon-General John Browne (1765—1833) of the Bengal Medical Establishment and Charlotte Swinton sister of Samuel Swinton (1773—1839) B.C.S. 1794—1831. A daughter of Samuel Swinton married Sir James Weir Hogg and from them are descended three peers of the realm. Lord Magheramorne, Lord Tweedmouth and Viscount Hailsham. The Chesney family is still represented in India by the daughter of Mr. and

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Mrs. G. M. Chesney, who is the wife of Mr. T. B. W. Bishop, an Indian civilian serving in the United Provinces.

A Memory of Assaye.

SAMUEL SWINTON was a nephew of John Swinton, a Senator of the College of Justice at Edinburgh under the title of Lord Swinton who died in 1799. Lord Swinton sent three of his five sons to India. Major Robert Swinton (1773-1822), the fourth, and Colonel William Swinton (1784-1853), the sixth, served in the Bengal Army. George Swinton (d. 1854) came out to Bengal as a writer in 1804 and retired in 1833 : he married a daughter of the aforesaid Samuel Swinton, B.C.S. and was followed in India by two sons in the Civil Service and three in the Company's Army. Lord Swinton's second son, another Samuel (1762-1829) became a general in the King's Army and commanded the 74th Regiment (now the 2nd battalion of the Highland Light Infantry) which he led at Assaye. "Long after General Swinton's death," says the regimental history, "on a relative being introduced to the Duke of Wellington, the old Duke observed, "I have good reason to remember your name, for once, at a most critical moment, I called on one of you to bring up his men and to my consternation the answer I got was, they are all down'." Swinton, though wounded, and the quartermaster brought all that was left of the 74th out of action.

The Founder of Burn and Co.

INASMUCH as Major Robert Swinton of the 6th Bengal Cavalry resigned his commission in India on October 31, 1809 and died at Edinburgh on April 5, 1822, it may be that we have in him the founder of the well-known Calcutta firm of Burn and Company. When discussing the matter in 1926 (Vol. XXXI. p. 37) we mentioned that in a note prepared in 1924 by Mr. W. M. Glover, the chief accountant, the statement was made, upon the authority of a Mr. Aitchison, that the firm was established "about the year 1790 by Colonel Swinton who after leaving the Army went into business in Calcutta as a builder and contractor." Dates and titles frequently go astray in recitals from memory, and Robert Swinton may well have been known as Colonel Swinton in the same way as William Baillie the artist is described as "Major Baillie" on his tomb, although he never achieved a higher rank than that of lieutenant in the Bengal Engineers. No support can be lent to the tradition which connects Lord Swinton's younger brother, the famous Archibald Swinton (1731-1804) with the foundation of the firm. He left India in 1766 with the rank of captain and never returned. We may go further and add that after a careful examination of the career of all the Swintons in the Bengal Army, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Robert Swinton "fills the bill." It is true that his younger brother Colonel William Swinton constructed the aviary in Barrackpore Park and was also responsible for other works, during the period (1814-1819) when he was cantonment-adjutant and quartermaster at Barrackpore. It is also true that, later on, from 1822 to 1828, he was superintendent of public works in the Lower Provinces. But these dates will not fit in to the rest of the story.

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COLONEL CORYNDON LUXMOORE, who died at Bishopsteignton in Devon on April 28 in his ninety-fifth year, is believed to have been the last survivor of the East India Company's Army who took part in the compaigns of 1857. He was born on August 16, 1839, and was sent as a boy to Sherborne, the well-known West-country school in Dorset. At the age of 18 he received a cadetship and sailed for India in the paddle steamer *Ripon* on August 15. The voyage to Madras occupied thirty-three days : and on arrival he was posted to the 1st Madras Fusiliers. With his regiment he was engaged under Outram in the famous defence of the Alumbagh—which has received less attention than it deserves—and later on the capture of Lucknow by Colin Campbell in March 1858 and the subsequent operations in Oudh under Hope Grant. The rest of his service was passed in the Military Accounts Department, from which he retired in 1896.

The Defence of Alumbagh.

MENTION is made elsewhere of Major Charles Stewart ,the oriental scholar, whose portrait has been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall. Besides writing the *History of Bengal,* by which he is best remembered, he published in London in 1814 a translation of the "Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803, written by himself in the Persian language." This book, which is well worth reading, contains the following interesting reference to Thomas Daniell:

The Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan.

> In the house of Mr. Daniel, I saw the portraits of many of my Indian acquaintance, and some beautiful paintings of the Taje Mahal (Tomb of Momtazi Zeman the Empress of Shah Jehan, King of the World) most accurately delineated. As many of the English had an opinion that there were not any buildings worth looking at in India, I was much rejoiced that Mr. Daniel had by his skill, enabled me to convince them of the contrary ; and I insisted upon several of my friends accompanying me to his house, to look at these pictures, which they could not behold without admiration.

The paintings of the Taj Mahal are evidently the two fine aquatinsts which were published in 1801 : Illustrations of them were given in *Bengal : Past and Present* in 1931 (Vol. XLII, P. 132). For some unexplained reason they were not included in *oriental scenery :* and examples of them are uncommon. There is a set in the Viceroy's House at Delhi.

MIRZA ABU TALEB travelled in the same ship—the *Christiana,* a Danish vessel—from Calcutta in 1799 with George Francis Grand, the husband of Madame Grand, whom he describes as "a very passionate and delicate gentleman." During a storm "Mr. Grand, who was of enormous size and

A Glimpse of Mr. Grand.

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whose cabin was separated from mine by a canvas partition, fell with all his weight upon my breast and hurt me excessively; what rendered this circumstance more provoking was that if by accident the smallest noise was made in my apartment, he would call out, 'What are you about? You won't let me get a wink of sleep!'" The allusion to Grand's bulk is confirmed by Grand himself who tells us in his *Narrative* that when he interviewed Lord Cornwallis at Calcutta in 1792, his Lordship was pleased to observe that the good fat beef for which Patna was renowned had agreed very well with him. The Mirza Sahib met Grand again in 1802 at Paris. "He had come to improve his fortune through the interest of Madame Talleyrand to whom he once had the honour of being husband; and I understand she has since procured for him an apointment under the Dutch Government, at the Cape of Good Hope." Grand's career in South Africa was described by Mr. J. J. Cotton in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1923 (Vol. XXV, pp. 71-75). In 1805 his name appears in the Capetown Kalendars as "Consulting Councillor of Raad Consulent." In the following year when the colony had been taken oevr by the British he was appointed Inspector of Government Woods and and Lands: but the office was in other hands in 1808. He married again and died at Capetown on January 17, 1820, at the age of 71.

Deen Mohammed.

ON his way to England the Mirza's ship was obliged to put in at Cove (Queenstown), and from that place he went to Dublin. At Cove he fell in with a Captain Baker, "a gentleman with whom I had formed an acquaintance in Rohilcund during the war with Ghoolam Mohammed Khan," and who was living on a neighbouring estate four miles from Cork. Major Hudson has identified this officer without difficulty as Captain (afterwards Lieut.-Col.) William Massy Baker (1759-1829) of the Bengal Army, who was on furlough from March 20, 1796 to January 8, 1801, ultimately retiring in 1806: and the name of the Estate, according to Burke's Landed Gentry, was Fort William, Glanmire, between three and four miles N. E. of Cork. He was indirectly related to General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler (1789-1857) who was killed at Cawnpore and whose mother, a daughter of the first Lord Massy, was the widow of Capt. Baker's elder brother Godfrey and married Capt. Wheeler R. N. as a second husband. But the matter of present interest is the glimpse we get of Deen Mohammed, a Mussulman gentleman from Moorshedabad, who had married an Irish wife and was living at the time (December 1799) with the Bakers. He had been brought up from childhood by an elder brother of Capt. Baker—who may have been a free merchant in Bengal—and who on his return to Europe took him along with him and sent him to school at Cork. We read that he had published a book "giving an account of himself and of the customs of India": and from a footnote, which was probably added by Major Stewart, we obtain the further information that he "lately kept the Hookah Club House in George Street, Manchester Square," London.

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WHILE in London (January 21, 1800 to June 7, 1802) Abu Taleb made the acquaintance of "two or three Hindoostanny ladies who from the affection they bore to their children had accompanied them to Europe." The "most distinguished of these" was Mrs. Ducarel, the wife of Gerard Gustavus Ducarel, of whom something was said in our last issue (*ante*. pp. 44-45):

"Hindoostany" Ladies in London.

> It is generally reported that she was a young Hindoo widow of rank, whom Mr. Ducarrol (**sic**) rescued from the funeral pile of her former husband and having converted her to christianity, he married her. She is very fair and so accomplished in all the English manners and language that I was some time in her company before I could be convinced she was a native of India. This lady introduced me to two or three of her children, from sixteen to nineteen years of age, who had every appearance of Europeans.

The registers of St. John's Church show the following baptisms of Ducarel's children: Mary, February 27, 1777; Philip John (evidently a godson of Francis), June 11, 1778; William, April 22, 1780. The name of the mother is not given in any of the entries.

ANOTHER "Hindoostanny lady" whom he visited was "Noor Begum who accompanied General De Boigne from India." She was dressed, we are told, in the English fashion and looked remarkably well. The Mirza's visit pleased her greatly and he was requested to take charge of a letter for her mother "who resides at Lucknow". He adds:

De Boigne's Indian Wife.

> When General De Boigne thought proper to marry a young French woman, he made a settlement on the Begum and gave her the house in which she resides. She has two children, a boy and a girl, of fifteen and sixteen years of age, who at the time of my visit were at school and always spent their holidays with her.

We have here the honorific title, Noor Begum, of the lady who under the name of Helena Bennett, (Halima Benoit) lived in Sussex for more than half a century and whose grave in the churchyard at Horsham has lately been discovered (Vol XLVI, pp. 91-94). She died on January 4, 1854, at the age of 81: and was therefore a young woman of 28 when Mirza Abu Taleb visited her in 1801.

SIR ELIJAH IMPEY possesses more than one claim to fame: but it is not generally known that he figures in the Oxford English Dictionary as the originator of a word in the English language. Sir William Foster sends us the following extract:

The "Impeyan" Pheasant.

> Impeyan, also Impeian. [Named by Latham, 1787, after Sir

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Elijah and Lady Impey, who tried to bring living specimens of the bird to England].

Impeyan pheasant, a kind of East Indian pheasant, (*Lophophorus impeyanus*) with crested head: the male has plumage of brilliant metallic hues. The name is sometimes extended to other species of *Lophophorus*.

1896, Westminster Gazette, 16 January. "The large hat ..... was trimmed with shimmering impeyan feathers."

The Old Danish Flag-staff at Serampore.

IN 1909, in one of the early volumes of *Bengal : Past and Present* (Vol. III, P. 162), Mr. Herbert A Stark reported that he had traced to a bathroom in a house at Serampore the foundation stone of the flag staff from which the Danish flag fluttered over the settlement until it was finally hauled down in 1845. Mr. J. G. Brooker of Cossipore now writes, twenty-five years later, to say that he has discovered the house in Church Street in which this relic of the past is hidden. The only vestige of Danish value which meets the eye in modern Serampore is the monogram of King Frederick the Sixth (1808-1839) which still lingers over the Church of St. Olaf, the Court House and the Jail. It was he who gave a charter to Serampore College, and it was his sister, Princess Louisa Augusta of Augustenburg—and not Madam Grand—who was the original of the much—discussed portrait in the library of the College. Their mother was the ill-fated Queen Caroline Matilda, daughter of Frederick Princ of Wales and sister of our George the Third.

Martha Isaacs.

MESSRS. AGNEW, the London art-dealers, have been exhibiting a small painting of "A Lady in Her Room", which is ascribed to the elder Devis (1708-1787). The lady is holding a brush or crayon in one hand and a print or drawing in the other, while colours in small pots are spread out on a table. Her head, though plain, is intelligent, and the features have a Jewish cast. It is thought that the portrait may represent Martha Isaacs, a miniature painter who, after showing a dozen pictures at the Free Society of Artists between 1771 and 1774, is mentioned by William Hickey as exercising her profession in Calcutta in 1778. Hickey himself sat to her, and she is known, from references in the letters of Richard Barwell, to have painted a miniature of his first wife, the beautiful Miss Sanderson. On July 5, 1779, she married Alexander Higginson, of the Board of Trade, having been baptized four days earlier: and presumably accompanied him to Europe upon his retirement in 1782.

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MR. ABDUL ALI is to be congratulated upon the interesting exhibition recently arranged by him at the Great Eastern Hotel in connexion with an address on "Social Life in Bygone India" which he gave to the Calcutta Rotary Club. With the exception of Madras, there is no city in India which is as rich in memories of the past as Calcutta: and in these times of hurry and bustle, it is good to be reminded of them. Such is the modest aim of the Calcutta Historical Society, which, in its life of a quarter of a century, can already look back upon surprising changes.

Social Life in Bygone India.

EXTRACTS FROM "EASTERN ROTARY WHEEL"

VOL. II., NO. I, FEB. MARCH, 1934:

Tuesday, 13th February, 1934.

A TEA meeting was arranged by the Programme Committee in order that members and their guests after listening to a paper on "Social Customs of Old Calcutta" might view the collection of old prints and engravings, maps and diagrams, which Rotarian Abdul Ali, the speaker of the day had collected and exhibited in the old dining room of the Great Eastern Hotel. The Exhibition has been acclaimed as unique ; these exhibits are scattered all over Calcutta, in Clubs, the museum, the Asiatic Society, the Imperial Record Room and elsewhere, and this is the first time they have been shown together. Rotarian Abdul Ali has kindly arranged that they shall be available for view by the general public for two days free of charge. * * * * Rotarian Abdul Ali played Peter Standish for us, and through his eyes, and with the magic aid of descriptions quoted from contemporary authors, those of us who were prepared to accept the illusion gazed on old Job Charnock sitting under the *Nim* tree dreaming of the City which would grow on the site he had selected. We at least have seen his dream come true. With the speaker we trod the streets of old Calcutta, mixed with the Nabobs, old Job Sedly, William Hickie, Bob Potts and the rest, had our dinner at 3 P.M. and wined with the best of them. We danced the stately Minuet and the gay Gavotte with wonderfully clad houris who flirted with us from behind their fans, and we picknicked on house-boats on the way up to Chinsura. We gambled away fortunes and then won greater wealth.

We had an army of servants, ran up enormous bills at the 'salon', ordered hundreds of suits, and wallowed in a bath twice a day, thus acquiring that habit learned from our Indian friends which has split the British people into two social sections, those who bath every day, and those who do not.

When we woke to the realities of the grim present, it was to hear Mr. Harry Hobbs pointing the moral and adorning the tale. He spoke of the longevity of many of the residents of Old Calcutta, at which our mind conjured up a vision of the inscriptions on the graves in the Old Park Street Cemetery, the sad record of the other side of the story—'Sweet Rose Aylmer' aged nineteen and many other young man and woman laid to rest before the age of thirty.

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The Exhibition itself was of wondrous interest ; to see the old maps alone was a revelation. In one dated 1788 we noted a patch among the Sunderbunds labelled "This area abandoned because of invasion of Moggs". Towards Chittagong were the "Mog Hills". Can these fierce Moggs have been the ancestors of the present mild Mugh of the culinary reputation?

It was fascinating, too, to endeavour to trace the lines of present buildings in the old prints of street scenes, to revel in streets empty of motor cars and buses ; it must have been a leisurely period, travelling in a palanquin or caracoling on a blood Arab. How wonderful that those old town planners left us the Maidan!

The thanks of the Club, and, indeed, those of all Calcutta are due to Rotarian Abdul Ali for resuscitating old Calcutta for us and giving some of us a crowded hour of glorious dreams.

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Calcutta Historical Society

REPORT FOR 1933.

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Office of the Society at 3, Government Place, West, on Friday, the 18th May 1933 at 6-30 P.M. Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S. presided.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Honorary Secretary of the Society read the report for the year 1933 which runs as follows:

With the close of the year's activities, it is pleasing to note, the Calcutta Historical Society completes the 26th year of its existence.

We have to record with deep regret the death of three of our valued life-members during the year under review:—

Miss Hilda Caroline Gregg,
The Hon. Sir William David Prentice, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Rai Bahadur Gokul Chand Boral.

Miss Hilda Caroline Gregg, the well-known novelist and research worker, died at Eastbourne on the 22nd June 1933 at the age of sixty-five. She was well-known by the pen-name of "Sydney C. Grier". She was not only one of the Vice-Presidents of the Calcutta Historical Society for many years but was also an enthusiastic member and a warm supporter of the Society. Her last contribution entitled "At a Great Price—An Incident of History" which is an admirably written playlet mainly based on M. Chevalier's escape from Chandernagore in 1788 appeared in he 25th Anniversary number of *Bengal: Past and Present.*

The Hon. Sir William David Prentice was one of our oldest members and his sudden death is a great loss to the Calcutta Historical Society, in which he never ceased to take an active interest.

Babu Gokul Chand Boral's loss will be keenly felt by all the members of the Society.

It will be seen from the balance sheet drawn up by Messrs. Lovelock and Lewis, the Honorary Auditors of the Society, that the credit balance in the General Fund at the Mercantile Bank up to the 31st December 1933 was Rs. 1,657-2-11. Out of this amount Rs. 457-2-11 is in the General Current Account, Rs. 1,200 in Fixed Deposit, and Rs. 171-15-7 in the Current Account of the Index Fund. The Fixed Deposit of Rs. 1,200/- has been renewed for twelve months. We offer our sincere thanks to Messrs. Lovelock and Lewis for the pains taken by them in auditing the accounts of the Society free of charge every year.

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The subscriptions of twenty ordinary members amounting to Rs. 870/- are in arrears. It is hoped that the major portion of it will be realised during the current year. The sum of Rs. 220/- being subscription due from three members will, however, have to be written off as there is no likelihood of realizing the same.

Although there are two additions in the list of ordinary members the total number during the year under review was 145 as against 150 of the previous year. The decrease is due to the resignation of some of the ordinary members and the death of the three members named above. It must be admitted that the financial condition of the Society is becoming weaker and weaker every year. The Committee appeal to all those who are interested in the cause of historical research in this country to exert their personal influence to increase the membership of the Society.

The Committee are greatly indebted to Sir Evan Cotton who, even in his retirement at Eastbourne, continues to watch the activities of the Society with paternal interest. We are particularly grateful to him for his valuable contributions to *Bengal : Past and Present* each issue of which contains one or more articles from his masterly pen. The Committee are also thankful to all those gentlemen who have helped the journal with their valuable and interesting contributions. Among these may be mentioned the names of Mr. M. M. Stuart, I.C.S., Mr. Nanda Lall Chatterji, M.A., Captain H. Bullock, F.R.Hist.S., Mr. A. Cassells, I.C.S. (Retired), Mr. R. R. Sethi, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S., Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A., Mr. J. G. Brooker, Mr. Kali Kinkar Dutt, M.A., P.R.S., and Mr. Kalipada Mitter, M.A., B.L.

The special thanks of the Society are due to Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., the Honorary Editor of its journal *Bengal : Past and Present* for devoting much valuable time to the interests of the Society and particularly its journal.

In the absence of Mr. D. C. Ghose, the Honorary Treasurer of the Society, Mr. N. Ganguly, the Honorary Manager, read the audited Financial Statement of Receipts and Payments of the General and Index Funds for the year 1933.

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CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1933.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
Balance at 1st January, 1933.			*Printing including Blocks and Reprints*		1,779 9 3
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.			*Postage and Stationery*		194 9 0
On Current Account	131 6 8		*Bank Charges*		12 6 0
,, Fixed Deposit	1,200 0 0		*Balance at 31st December 1933*		
		1,331 6 8	With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		
Subscriptions Realised			On Current Account	457 2 11	
Arrears	520 0 0		,, Fixed Deposit	1,200 0 0	
Current year	1,108 0 0				1,657 2 11
Advance for 1934	20 0 0				
		1,648 0 0			
Sale of Society's Journal		440 14 6			
Interest on Fixed Deposit		44 8 0			
Loan from Index Fund		178 14 0			
		Rs. 3,643 11 2			Rs. 3,643 11 2

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.

CALCUTTA,
2nd February, 1934.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INDEX FUND.

Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1933.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
Balance at 1st January 1933			*Bank Charges*		10 1 0
With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.			*Loan to General Fund*		178 14 0
On Current Account		360 14 7	*Balance at 31st December 1933*		
			With Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.		
			On Current Account		171 15 7
		Rs. 360 14 7			Rs. 360 14 7

Examined and found correct.
LOVELOCK & LEWES
Chartered Accountants.
Registered Accountants.

CALCUTTA,
2nd February, 1934.

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Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansberia proposed the adoption of the Annual Report and the Financial Statement. Mr. R. Maulik seconded the motion was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. Lateefur Rahman seconded by Mr. P. Trivedi the following office bearers were elected for the year 1934:—

Chairman of the Committee—Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, C.I.E.
Hony Editor—Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S.
Hony. Treasurer—Mr. D. C. Ghosh, Bar-at-Law.
Hony. Secretary—Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., etc.
Hony. Manager and Asst. Editor —Mr. N. Ganguly.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting terminated at 8 P.M.

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Calcutta Historical Society.

Publications.

Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days.—An Album of Views of Old Calcutta : arranged with notes by the late Wilmot Corfield. Price Rs. 2.

The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India.—By G. F. Grand (Cape of Good Hope, 1814): New edition, with introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. Price Rs. 3.

Bengal : Past and Present.—The Quarterly Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society. Back numbers available can be supplied at Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 (double numbers) a copy respectively. Consolidated Index to Vols. I—VIII, Rs. 3, and Vols. IX—XVIII, Rs. 7/8 per copy.

To be obtained from the office of the Calcutta Historical Society, 3, Government Place West, Calcutta.

Calcutta Old and New.—A Historical and Descriptive Guide Book to the City : By Sir Evan Cotton, M.A., C.I.E.

To be obtained from Messrs. W. Newman & Co.

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